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# THE INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Vol. I. No. I

March, 1925



EDITED BY  
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# THE Indian Historical Quarterly

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VOL. I

MARCH 1925

NO. 1

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## Introduction

It would seem that as there are already so many journals in which Indian history and civilization are discussed, there is no need for a new one. Those who have tried to follow the development of Indian historical research in later times will know, however, how extremely difficult it is to do so. It is necessary to look for information in so many different periodicals, and the number of separate books and publications dealing with the various periods and the numerous problems is so rapidly increasing from year to year that it is not an easy task to know what has already been done.

An Indian Historical Quarterly will therefore be very welcome, and we have every reason for being thankful to Dr. Narendra Nath Law for taking the initiative.

There are numerous problems connected with the history of India which are of general interest and do not concern India only. The latest discoveries in Sind and in the Punjab have raised the question about a possible connection between India and the ancient civilization of Mesopotamia, which latter has played such a prominent rôle in the development of the Western world. If the antiquities unearthed at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa belong to an old civilization connected with that of the Sumerians, which came to an end about 3000 years B. C., we shall have to



reconsider the question about the date of the Aryan invasion of India in the light of these new finds, and it is probable that we shall arrive at results which are calculated to modify our ideas about the history of the Aryan and the Indo-European periods in the history of our race. We shall be able to judge better about the relations existing between the different countries and the different civilizations in ancient times than we can at the present day, and we shall probably find that there was much more intercourse and much less isolation than many people have been inclined to think.

There are other questions which likewise take us outside the borders of India. Who were the Dravidians, and whence did they come? What can we find out about the ancient civilization which perhaps preceded the Dravidians and the Aryans in India and in the continent and islands surrounding the Indian seas, and what does it teach us about the development of the eastern world in pre-historic times?

If we turn to later times, the importance of Indian history does not become less. Time after time foreign invaders have entered the country and founded empires of varying importance and duration. Indian history has seldom been restricted to India itself. It forms an important chapter in the general history of the world; and the Indian trade, which looms so large in the statistics of many modern nations, has always been important. The history of the trade of the world would be incomplete if India's share in it were not carefully studied.

Still more such considerations hold good with him who tries to disentangle the history of the development of human thought and human ideals during the ages. Here, a conspicuous place is to be accorded to India, not only in modern times, but also in bygone ages. And much, very much, patient spade work will have to be done before we can hope to draw the historical outlines.



To the students of history in general, a periodical which is devoted to Indian history will, for such and for other reasons which I need not here detail, be extremely welcome. Much more still, however, will that be the case from the view-point of the Indian student.

India is slowly, but surely, making her re-entrance as a separate unit in the world's concert. The Indian tribes and races are developing into a real nation, with its own aims and its own tendencies; and the Indian people will necessarily take a greater interest in its past history.

An ancient people will never be able to hold its own in the world, if it chooses to live exclusively on loans from abroad. It must build up its future on the safe foundation of its material and spiritual experience in the past. It cannot live in the past and seclude itself from the outside world by means of Chinese walls. The ancient barriers have been broken down, and every country must, at the present day, enter into competition and co-operation with all the rest. But it cannot enter into the complicated system of the modern world without backbone. And only a thorough understanding of the past, with intimate knowledge of such power and forces as have been developed out of the peculiar faculties of the people itself, can give the necessary self-reliance and strength if it is not to lose its individuality and become a mere spectator of the great drama.

With the growth of the national idea in India, the interest in the country's history must go hand in hand. It is India, with all her traditions and all her ancient history, which must secure her entrance in the modern world; and an historical journal is bound to occupy an important place in the development.

All those who have learnt to know India and to love India, whether they are Indians or foreigners, will therefore welcome the new Quarterly. It will become an important source of information and a proper centre for discussion and research.



The necessary condition is, however, that the undertaking is conducted in a scientific and critical spirit. It will not be enough to dwell on such periods in Indian history as bear witness to great power and strength. Also the times of decadence and disaster belong to the people's history and are often peculiarly interesting in its development.

If such principles become the leading feature, the Indian Historical Quarterly will become an important undertaking, and the editor will be entitled to the gratitude of the world of scholars and of his country.

STEN KONOW

### The Date of Zoroaster and the R̥gveda

Professor Johannes Hertel has recently announced<sup>1</sup> his conclusion that a complete error has been made in accepting Indian tradition as a guide to the elucidation of the early history of India, and has claimed that our only authorities must be the actual texts, supplemented by the information to be gained from older or contemporary works. In this spirit he has revived the older idea that it is to the *Avesta* that we must look for evidence of the first weight in estimating both the date and the place of composition of the *R̥gveda*, and he has arrived at the conclusion that the period of Zoroaster's activity fell about 550 B. C. and that the *R̥gveda* was in large measure contemporaneous with the *Avesta* and was composed during the period when the wanderings of the Aryan tribes were not yet com-

1 *Die Zeit Zoroasters* (1924).



pleted. This claim involves two distinct issues, the date of the Zoroaster, and the contemporaneity of the *Rġveda* and Zoroaster, and the importance of the question for our view of the beginnings of Aryan influence on India is such as to justify full examination of his thesis, specially since its author adduces positive arguments and does not rely on vague impressions.

Herodotos, it is pointed out, shows no knowledge of the teaching of Zoroaster, but instead reports a condition of affairs representing faithfully the old nature worship of the priests, Magoi, to which the Zoroastrian reform was opposed. Zoroaster introduced a strong dualism based on moral principles, composed his pantheon of abstract figures, and treated the old nature powers, water, wind, earth, sun, moon, and dawn, as no more than mere natural objects, degrading to demons the Daévas of the older faith. To the supporters of the Good Spirit he assigns the bliss of heaven, to the adherents of the Druj abode in hell. Moreover, he attacked the practice of the sacrifice of animals, disapproved of the Haoma offering and of drunkenness, ignored the cult of the dog, a remnant from the period of nomadic life, and apparently did not approve the practice of the Magoi in exposing the bodies of the dead to dogs and birds. He says nothing of the wickedness of defiling water or fire, and he is a stranger to the vehement carrying out of the doctrine of dualism, which in the *Later Avesta* shows us the priests demanding the slaughter of all those creatures which were ranked as opposed to the Good Spirit. Herodotos<sup>1</sup> ignores all these traits; he shows us the worship of the nature powers, the sky, sun, moon, earth, fire, water, and wind; the sacrifice of animals; drunkenness as a prevailing practice; the exposure of the dead by the Magoi, and their devotion to slaying ants, snakes, other reptiles, and birds, while dogs they ranked with men as inviolable.



All this is clear and not open to serious dispute. But it is not easy to agree with the conclusion derived therefrom that the religion of Zoroaster must have been little known in Persian circles, and that Zoroaster could not have lived long before the date of Herodotos's visit to Persia or the reign of Xerxes I. Two views have been held with regard to the relation of Zoroaster and the Magoi. Dr. Hope Moulton<sup>1</sup> contended energetically in favour of the view that Zoroaster represented genuine Iranian views as against those of the aboriginal nomads whose priests the Magoi were. But this view seems to have little that is attractive in it<sup>2</sup>. Much more plausible is the view accepted by Professor Hertel that the Magoi represented the true Iranian nature worship, upon which Zoroaster induced a moral dualism, which is recorded for us in the Gāthās of the *Avesta*, while in the *Later Avesta* we have the synthesis which the Magoi effected between the old religion and Zoroastrian reform, a synthesis in which pedantry and priestcraft have exaggerated and deformed much of what was noblest in Zoroaster's teaching. The conclusion, however, that Zoroaster himself was not a priest but a peasant, seems wholly unwarranted. It rests on an unsupported theory that Zoroaster represents a sharper break with the past than is plausible. We are at least entitled to assume that the essence of Zoroaster's work lay in developing and making distinct the germs of morality which in every religion of importance soon came to be associated with nature deities. The only tradition we have of him asserts consistently that he was one of the Magoi, and the whole point of Hertel's argument against this view lies in his contrast between him and the Magoi of the *Later Avesta*, ignoring the practical certainty that the earlier Magoi were far less fanatical. Reflexion on the development of religious feeling will show that the introduction of fanaticism

<sup>1</sup> *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 152 ff.

<sup>2</sup> See Keith, *JRAS*, 1915, pp. 790 798.

was largely due to Zoroaster's own teaching, for he certainly introduced into religion a moral emphasis which must result, human and priestly nature being such as it is, in vehemence of opposition to what is classed as bad which is foreign to religions with a less ethical turn.

In the light of these considerations we see another possibility. Instead of proving that Zoroaster was recent, Herodotos's silence may rather establish that he was early, and that, when Herodotos visited Persia, he did not appear in the light of a recent reformer, whose name would naturally be learned by an enquirer, but as a person of remote antiquity. Positively this argument is inconclusive, but it definitely negates the possibility of attaching any conclusive force to the contention in favour of the late date of Zoroaster based on the silence of Herodotos.

Moreover, against the negative evidence we have to set a very distinct fact. The Lydian Xanthos, who was a contemporary of Artaxerxes I (465-424 B. C.), is recorded in two different sources<sup>1</sup> as mentioning Zoroaster, and the second of these expressly mentions that he assigned him to a period 6000 years before the invasion of Xerxes and called him one of the Magoi. Unfortunately, as is inevitably the case in regard to numbers preserved only in ms. tradition, we have the variant 600, and there are many considerations which may be adduced in favour of that reading<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand there was the belief vouched for by Hermodoros in the fourth century B. C. that Zoroaster lived 5000 years before the Trojan war, or as put later 6000 years before Alexander, and this fact may be regarded as supporting the earlier date given by Xanthos<sup>3</sup>. It is important also that in a fragment of Xanthos preserved by Nikolaos of Damascus, who wrote in the first century B. C., we find

1 See Jackson, *Zoroaster*, pp. 232, 241.

2 See Maspero, *The Passing of the Empires*, p. 572, n. 8.

3 See Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 152 ff.



it recorded in connexion with the effort of Kroisos to burn himself on the fall of Sardis before the unexpected Persian attack that the Persians remembered the rule of Zoroaster against the defiling of the fire by burning the dead or otherwise. From the fact that Zoroaster was thus early credited with the Later Avestan doctrine of the purity of fire, it may quite fairly be deduced that he lived very considerably earlier than Xanthos of Lydia, whose Asiatic origin may justly be assumed to give his reports great weight. As Hertel merely vaguely suggests that the statements attributed to Xanthos are not authentic, and, as there is really not a scrap of evidence for such a view, we may safely hold that the silence of Herodotos is outweighed by the evidence of Xanthos, and that no conclusion for a later date of Zoroaster is admissible from it. Xanthos, on the other hand, attests the belief which was always held in Greece, that Zoroaster was a very ancient sage, and, if we take the date 600 before the expedition of Xerxes, we obtain a date of 1080 B. C. which is not itself implausible, although to give it credence on its own merits alone would be obviously impossible.

Other Greek testimony is of less account; the author of the pseudo-Platonic, but early, dialogue *Alkibiades I* records that Persian princes were instructed in the Mageia of Zoroaster, and Aristotle ascribed Zoroaster to 6000 years before the death of Plato.

Turning to the evidence from the Persian inscriptions, we find that Dareios I avows his deep devotion to Auramazdā, while before him we have according to Hertel no historical evidence whatever of the existence of this god either in Persian sources or in Herodotos. It follows therefore, that we must assume that Dareios trusted in the aid of a god who was the god par excellence of his family, and that Zoroaster must have lived in or before his time. The evidence of Herodotos, it is said, shows how few adherents Zoroastrianism had even under Xerxes I, and this fact is fatal to the view that Zoroaster lived a few centuries before that date.

A religion, it is contended, if after some centuries it has only a few adherents, could not suddenly develop in strength. This contention, however, appears to be without any cogency. If Zoroaster started his religious innovations some centuries before, and if the tradition had been kept up in the line whence Dareios sprang, it is not difficult to suppose that his success in overthrowing his foes, supported by the whole power of the Magoi who espoused the cause of Gaumāta, who claimed to be the brother of the dead Kambyses and therefore heir to the throne, may have roused his devotion to his family god, and induced him for the time to spread the Zoroastrian faith. The probability of Hertel's view is, therefore, negligible, and more serious proof is requisite.

This certainly cannot be deduced from the terms of the inscriptions of Dareios, which say nothing whatever about the introduction of a new deity. Hertel's claim that the conclusion of the Naksh-i-rustam inscription in which he bids men obey the commands of the god is only consistent with the introduction of a new deity is wholly inconclusive.

But a more concrete argument is adduced in the renewal of the old suggestion that in Vīštāspa the father of Dareios, we are to find Vīštāspa the patron of Zoroaster, and in the claim that this agrees with the traditional date of Zoroaster. The latter is unanimous in placing the beginning of his ministry 258 years before the commencement of Alexander's reign, or 272 years before the end of that reign, which gives us 595 or 594 B. C.<sup>1</sup> Hertel, however, candidly admits that in the main the Parsi tradition is utterly worthless,—it is not merely extremely late in its records but it displays deplorable ignorance of history<sup>2</sup> and his defence of it in this case rests on very feeble grounds. Sects, he contends, would place their founder at an earlier rather

1 See Jackson, *Early Zoroastrianism*, pp. 157 ff.

2 See Meyer, KZ. xlii. 1, n. 2.



than a later date : the conclusion from this argument would seem to be that they have exaggerated the date of Zoroaster rather than that it is reliable, and Hertel really abandons tradition in favour of a somewhat later date. He refers to Anquetil du Perron's statement<sup>1</sup> that a religious sect which immigrated into China in 600 A. D. is evidently Zoroastrian in origin and that it has an era approximately of 559 B. C., which may be regarded as the date when Zoroaster left his home and entered on his mission. On the strength of this worthless piece of evidence, Hertel places Zoroaster about 550 B. C. as a preliminary to establishing the identity of his father with the patron of Zoroaster.

In this effort Hertel has no traditional support ; one thing is clear : the tradition asserted that the Vishtāspa who patronised Zoroaster was not the father of Dareios, but a Kavi-Vishtāspa, as the Gāthās call him, who according to the tradition was of the Kayanian dynasty founded by Kavāta. Hertel maintains that the term Kavi means merely prince, but assuming this to be correct, we are left with the fact that there is no obvious reason why tradition should have invented the dynasty and ignored the connection with the Achaimenidai. Hertel argues that it was due to their dislike of Dareios who slew the Magoi, but this is clearly something of a tour de force, as is his belief that the genealogy of Zoroaster is purely mythical, invented in order to make him one of the Magoi. But there is a further consideration, which makes it unlikely that Hertel's statement is true that the only Vishtāspa with whom we have to do must be Dareios's father. Moulton<sup>2</sup> has justly pointed out that Kyros gave his daughter the name Atossa, the Avestan Hutaosā, the name of the wife of Vishtāspa, Zoroaster's patron. It can hardly be denied that this use of the name of the wife of Vishtāspa in one branch of the Achaimenidai, coupled with

1 Jackson, *op. cit.*, p. 165.

2 Moulton, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 47.

the use of Vishtāspa's name in the other, proves that both branches knew of a Vishtāspa and Hutaosā earlier than either.

Finally Hertel seeks to show that the Gāthā preserved as *Yasna* liii, which was composed for the marriage of Zoroaster's daughter Pourucistā, really contains in veiled form an exhortation by Zoroaster addressed to Vishtāspa to take up arms against the Magos Gaumāta who had usurped the throne. The Gāthā then falls between April 2 and September 29, 522 B. C. The exhortation, it is supposed, was lost on Vishtāspa but accepted by the more energetic Dareios, who was thus fired to secure his succession to the throne and induced to become a convinced adherent of Zoroaster's god. It may fairly be said that the Gāthā in no way lends itself to such a hidden meaning, and this argument certainly does not strengthen Hertel's thesis.

Hertel recognises that his view is opposed to that of Eduard Meyer <sup>1</sup> among others, and he seeks to meet the argument derived by that scholar from the occurrence of the names Mazdaku or Maztaku as names of two Median princes in a list of twenty three found in an inscription of Sargon (722-705 B. C.), reflecting probably that king's victories in Media in 715-713 B. C. Meyer naturally held that the two princes by this nomenclature asserted their connection with the faith of Ahura Mazdāh. Hertel objects that *a priori* the names are not to be taken as theophoric, since no others in the list are of this kind. This contention, however, is clearly without value. It is no objection to the view that two princes should have theophoric names that others have not. Further the contention that the names may be derived merely from the Avestan counterpart of the Vedic *medhā*, which is used from time to time in Indian names, is merely a possibility, which leaves Meyer's argument still plausible. But, what is far more important, Hertel ignores entirely the argument which

1 . Meyer, KZ, xlii, 16.



can be deduced from the occurrence in an inscription<sup>1</sup> of Assurbanipal of the name Assara Mazāsh. The inscription itself goes back to the middle of the seventh century B. C., and whatever else it does it disproves entirely the contention of Hertel that we hear nothing of Ahura Mazdāh until he appears in the inscriptions of Dareios and contemporaneously in the Gāthās of Zoroaster. The form of the name, however, obviously represents an older form than the Ahura Mazdāh of the Avesta, and Hommel who discovered the reference suggested that the borrowing of the name should be assigned to the Kassite period of Babylonian history, say 1700 to 1200 B. C. This would induce us to put the worship of Ahura Mazdāh as earlier than Zoroaster, and this accords well with the position suggested above, that Zoroaster was the man who extended and deepened a moral and abstract tendency in Iranian thought, not the man who suddenly overthrew a purely non-moral nature worship.

We are left thus with nothing definite regarding Zoroaster's date, save that it was probably a good deal earlier than Kyros. Hertel ignores the difficulty presented by the absolute silence of Dareios regarding Zoroaster, which points rather distinctly to the fact that Zoroaster belonged to a considerably earlier period, and that he has not yet assumed in the eyes of kings at least the extraordinary importance accorded to him in the *Later Avesta*. Indeed it has often been held that Dareios was not even a Zoroastrian<sup>2</sup>, and he certainly was a lax one, but in any case we cannot really suppose that, if he owed his incentive to monarchy from Zoroaster, he would so wholly have passed him over in his inscriptions when magnifying the god of whom Zoroaster was the prophet. A hint at a more definite dating might be obtained if we could believe that the name Phraortes, borne by the father of Deiokes,

1 Hommel, *PSBA.* 1899, pp. 127 ff.

2 Casartelli, *The Religion of the Great Kings*; L. H. Gray, *ERE.*, i. 69-73.

founder of the Median kingdom, was correctly rendered "confessor," Fravartish, thus establishing its bearer as an exponent of the doctrines of Zoroaster<sup>1</sup>. But the evidence for this view is too slight to be considered valid.

We reach, therefore, the conclusion that Hertel's effort to date the Gāthās of the *Avesta* has failed definitely, and with it the value of his evidence connecting the *Ṛgveda* and the *Avesta* becomes minimal. But it must be noted that his evidence on this score so far as it has been presented is scanty and unattractive. The *Ṛgveda*<sup>2</sup> uses the term *devanid*, 'those who scorn the Devas.' Now, it is contended, none but the Zoroastrians can be meant by this term, for Zoroaster was the revolutionary who overthrew the Devas, and in no other people do we find such a treatment of the gods of light prior to Christianity. The argument seems deplorably weak; India in *Ṛgveda* times was obviously strongly influenced by aboriginal tribes who, we may be sure, were regarded as hostile to the Aryan gods by the Vedic Indians, just as in Homer we have the gods ranged against one side or another in hostility according as they favour the Achaians or the Trojans.

Secondly, it is contended that the term *brahma-dviṣ* in the *Ṛgveda* applies primarily at least to the Zoroastrians. The explanation of this view is complex. It rests on the doctrine that to Zoroaster the soul (*daénā*) existed both before and after its earthly experience, while in the Veda the doctrine of the Brahman was held, according to which there is a heavenly fire whence springs the individual and into which the individual is resolved on death. The Zoroastrians, accordingly, may justly be styled *brahma-dviṣ*. Yet common sense tells us that the term simply means "hating the Brahmins", and has nothing whatever to do with a complex mystical theory of the nature of the Brahman. Still less can we accept the

1 Maspero, *op. cit.*, p. 455, n. 1.

2 i. 152. 2; ii. 23. 8; vi. 61. 3.



theory of Hertel that the term *brahma-dviṣ* in *Rġveda* vii. 104. 2 obviously applies to the Piśācas, who are then identified with the Padaioi, nomads of the Indus valley, in Herodotus (iii. 99), for the passage applies the term to a Rakṣas, and we need have no hesitation in finding in India itself demons and foes sufficient to explain the term *brahma-dviṣ*.

We must, therefore, acquiesce in essentially negative conclusions, nor unfortunately have the results of recent discoveries in Asia thrown any very effective light on the early history of the Indo-Iranians. Hertel incidentally cites with approval the effort of Ipsen<sup>1</sup> to establish that the unity of the Indo-Europeans lasted to about 2000 B. C. The evidence, however, is inadequate ; it rests on nothing more substantial than the assumption that the form of the word "star" was borrowed by the Indo-Europeans when still united about the time of Hammurabi<sup>2</sup>. The assumption lacks, unfortunately, any serious ground. There is not sufficient evidence to prove that the word actually was borrowed from Babylonian, and still less to prove borrowing at the specific time alleged.

Another effort has been made by Peake<sup>3</sup> to sketch a time table of Indo-European movements. Rejecting the view of Giles<sup>4</sup>, which selects the Hungarian area as the original home, or at least relegating it to the remote past of the race, he finds in them the people known as Kurgan builders or red ochre people who occupied according to archæological evidence a wide area on the steppes east of the Dnieper, extending perhaps even as far as Turkestan. From this home, where they had on the west as neighbours the men of the Tripolye culture, which others have claimed as Indo-European<sup>5</sup>, various

1 *IF.* xli, 177 f.

2 Dated 2123-2081 B.C. or 1958-1916 ; See *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i. 147 ff.

3 *The Bronze Age and the Celtic World*, pp. 156 ff.

4 *Cambridge Hist. Ind.* i. 72.

5 Cf. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, p. 92.

movements took place, resulting in the wide appearance of peoples of Indo-European speech. A dispersal, due to drought on the steppes, seems to have sent some of them to the Baltic lands about 3000 B. C., but the main movement falls about 2200 B. C.<sup>1</sup>. Then nomads attracted the attention of Hammurabi on the Iranian slopes, into which they introduced the horse; these were the Kassites whom he assumes from their language to have been Indo-European. The Āryas, who spoke Indo-European dialects, were still undivided about 2000 B. C., when they were occupying the eastern parts of Russian Turkestan. A little later a group of these speaking a dialect with Iranian affinities occupied eastern Armenia, constituting the Mitanni barons whom Sayce would connect with the Phrygian Midas, but who were earlier than the Phrygians and entered from the east, not the west. Other Indo-Europeans went west, passing over the seats of the older Tripolye culture, and divided; a section crossed the Hellespont, sacked the second city at Troy, and penetrated into Asia Minor, where they explain the Indo-European element in the Hittite Empire, which may have owed its political organisation to their efforts. About 1760 B. C. fresh moves took place; the Kassites established themselves in Mesopotamia, and the schism between the Indo-Europeans of the Aryan type took place, with the result that the Indians crossed Afghanistan and entered the Punjab, while the Iranians continued to roam the steppes of Turkestan finally crossing the Volga into South Russia, where they eventually occupied the plain as far west as the foot of the Carpathians.

The weakest point in this theory is the assertion of the Indo-European character of the Kassite, for it rests on nothing more substantial than a number of equations of divine names. Thus we are asked<sup>2</sup> to believe that Maruttash is Marut; Bugash Slav bogu Phrygian Bagaïos; Shuriash Sūrya;

1 Presumably 2000 B. C. if the later date for Hammurabi is taken.

2 Cf. *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i, 553; *Cambridge Hist. Ind.* i, 76.



Buriash Greek Boreas; and even Shīmalia, "lady of the bright mountains," Himālaya. The last identification, which has the approval of Dr Giles, ignores the fact that Himālaya is not an early word, the Vedic being Himavant; it also leaves the long vowels out of account, and it rests on the view that the word refers to snow, which seems to have no foundation other than the supposed etymology. The Kassites may have contained Indo-European elements; what is clear is that this is not proved; Kassite language and deities in general are not Indo-European<sup>1</sup>. The view, again, that the Mitanni are Iranian is far from established. The evidence rests on the names of the deities<sup>2</sup>, Varuna, Mitra, the Nāsatyas, and Indra and on certain other words, including those numerals and terms of horse training which are found in a document emanating from a man of the Mitanni. The forms of the numerals have been confidently claimed as Indian, as have also the names of the deities. Careful examination, however, rather shows that they represent a stage earlier than Indian or Iranian<sup>3</sup>, and it must be remembered in any judgment on this score that we have Iranian only in the very developed form of the *Avesta*; if we could go back a century or two we might have forms much more Aryan than those actually found. The name Assara Mazāsh already noted belongs probably to the same speech period, when Indian and Iranian were still in the making. To ascribe the Mitanni either to the Indian or the Iranian branch of the Āryas appears, therefore, unjustified on the information yet available. The result is important, because, if the names and words had been definitely Indian, we might have been compelled to revise our conception of the movements which produced the phenomena connected with the Mitanni.

1 See Bloomfield, *AJP.* xxv. 1 ff.

2 Cf. *Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume*, pp. 81 ff.

3 See *Cambridge Anc. Hist.* i. 312.

As regards the Hittite Empire we may accept the view that Indo-European speech elements were introduced in some such way as Peake supposes. The speech, as investigations of the Hittite records show<sup>1</sup>, was of the *centum* variety, and it has interwoven itself fantastically with proto-Hittite and perhaps other elements to form a curious blend. It will be remembered that Tocharian is also a *centum* speech, but we are without the necessary material to decide how, and when, the Tocharians arrived at their later home. Here again we end in uncertainty, but it is often wiser, and more favourable to advance in knowledge, to admit the existence of problems which cannot yet be solved. Peake, however, is clearly wrong in ascribing to the Hittite Empire Indo-European deities; the evidence is overwhelming that the Hittites knew these only as Mitanni gods.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

<sup>1</sup> See C. J. S. Marsteander, *Caractère indo-européen de la langue hittite* (1919), pp. 168-172; IF. Ang. xli. 8-11; Bloomfield, JAOS. xli. 195-209; Prince, *ibid.* 210-224; Sayce, JRAS. 1922, pp. 563 ff. and the discussions in ZDMG, LXXVI and LXXVII.



## The Northern Buddhism

The Southern Buddhism was long known in Europe. In the beginning of the 16th century, when the Portuguese established their supremacy over the Indian Ocean and came in contact with Ceylon and Burma, the Indian Archipelago and Southern China, the Southern Buddhism with its pompous possessions, huge stūpas, big vihāras, and strict monastic system became known to them. It was after the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1784 that a study of the Southern Buddhist literature was earnestly undertaken. The traditional history of Buddhism speaks of a schism in the second century of the Nirvāṇa Era. In this schism two parties of Buddhists separated never to meet again. The Southern Buddhism called in Sanskrit Sthavira-vāda, in Pāli Theravāda, has a history of its own but the Northern Buddhism is entirely ignored in its religious and traditional works.

So in Europe and India, Southern Buddhism was well-known in the 19th century while the Northern was not. Even the majority of the educated people in India think that Buddhism is only to be found in the southern countries of Asia, that its literature is all written in Pāli, that it is a huge monastic system, very strict in discipline, both moral and physical, and so on. They cannot even imagine that there could be a Buddhism where monasticism is absolutely loose, where the literature is written in a language other than Pāli, where worship of images prevails and where all food regulations are completely set aside. Even in works written by eminent European scholars, Southern Buddhism looms large and Northern Buddhism is summarily disposed of. Yet the votaries of Northern Buddhism are much larger in number, its philosophy is much deeper, the paraphernalia of worship are more imposing, and its history exceedingly interesting.

The discovery of Northern Buddhism is very recent. It became known in the early 19th century and its study began late in that century. Its study has made great strides and its modern literature has grown up to a considerable extent within the last forty years. The social, intellectual, and literary history of Northern India has been greatly benefited by these studies, and it is therefore desirable at this stage to write a history of its discovery and the progress of its study.

The Segauli treaty in 1816 brought to an end the most difficult war in which the East India Company was engaged in India. With extreme reluctance the Nepalese people agreed to have a British Resident in their capital. Shortly after the establishment of the Residency at Katamundu, Brian Hodgson came there as the Residency assistant. He was a learned man and well-informed in all matters relating to India. As an assistant he had not much work and his thirst after knowledge was very great. In a new country so little known to the outside world, he began to collect information on all subjects, scientific, literary, historical, and social. He found a strange religion professed by nearly half the people of the Valley, called Buddhism but differing *in toto* from the Buddhism known from books. He began to make his enquiries about this religion. Fortunately for him there was a very learned Buddhist at that time employed as the Munshi of the Residency. This was Amṛtānanda. He too had very little work and Brian Hodgson began to take his assistance. He induced the old Buddhist paṇḍit to write a book for him giving all information about the Buddhism prevailing in Nepal. The name of the book is *Dharma-koṣa-saṃgraha*. In the 78th leaf of the book, the author says :—

Rtūdadhiniḍhau varṣe śrāvāṇe kṛṣṇa āruṇe,  
Śrīsāhevājñayā lekhat Amṛtaḥ Śākyaśāsanah.

[The Buddhist Amṛta wrote this in N. S. 946 (1826 A. D.) under orders of a European gentleman i. e. Brian Hodgson]. Amṛtānanda was the head of the Mahābodhivihāra in Lalita-



pattan, the second city in Nepal and chiefly inhabited by Buddhists. This vihāra contains a replica of the Mahābodhi-caitya of Bodh-gayā. One of Amṛtānanda's ancestors came on pilgrimage to Bodh-gayā in the middle of the 17th century and lived there for three years though in the midst of jungles, and took the plan, elevation and picture of the Bodh-gayā temple. On his return home he built a caitya exactly like that in Bodh-gayā; the caitya is still in existence. Hence the name of the vihāra is Mahābodhivihāra. Amṛtānanda was a profoundly learned man. He had already written many books in Sanskrit, and his new book is a noble performance and it gave Brian Hodgson an insight into the Buddhism of Nepal—the last remnant of Northern Buddhism in the soil of India, with a considerable literature in Sanskrit. With the help of Amṛtānanda, Brian Hodgson began to collect Buddhist manuscripts. Some of these manuscripts are on palm-leaf and very old, dating from the 11th and 12th centuries of Christian era. Some are on daphne paper called in Nepal Vamśapatra kāgaja. Some are copied for Mr. Hodgson in modern Nepal paper. How these manuscripts were collected is an interesting story. The copy of the Buddhacarita then found in Nepal was incomplete at the beginning and it came up to the middle of the 14th canto. Amṛtānanda got it copied but he completed the work himself adding more than two scores of verses in the beginning, completing the 14th canto and adding four cantos more himself, to bring the account of Buddha's life to a close.

Brian Hodgson distributed the manuscripts to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris and to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, and to the India Office Library. On the strength of the materials thus supplied and by dint of personal observations Brian Hodgson wrote a large number of papers in the early volumes of the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The illustrious Burnouf exploited the Mss. in Paris and wrote his history of Buddhism and translated the Saddharma

Pundarika. But for a long time the Mss. lay idle in all these places.

In the meanwhile Jung Bahadur, the Prime Minister of Nepal, took possession of one of the Nepalese Buddhist monastries and threw away the Mss. on the street. Dr. Wright, the Residency Surgeon, coming to learn all these facts, went to Jung Bahadur and asked permission to take the Mss. away as they were of no use to him. Jung Bahadur readily gave his permission and Mr. Wright sent them to Cambridge where they remained idle for sometime. It became apparent within a short time that the Mss. were of great age. The Palæographical Society having declared some of them to have been as old as the 9th, 10th, or 11th centuries, both Mr. Hodgson and Mr. Wright became anxious to know the contents of the Mss. Hodgson was constantly writing to the Asiatic Society to employ some scholar to make a descriptive catalogue of these Mss. and the Society after a long delay requested Raja R. L. Mitra to undertake the work. He appointed two paṇḍits to read the Mss. and to give their abstracts in Sanskrit, from which abstracts the Raja undertook to make a descriptive catalogue in English. But he fell ill and needed help, and so asked me in 1878 to look into these abstracts and render them into English. For five years the Raja, the Paṇḍits, and myself were engaged in this work and our work entitled *Nepalese Buddhist Literature* appeared in 1882 in the name of Raja R. L. Mitra. He spoke very kindly of my services to him and gave me an introduction in the preface of the work to the learned world which was very useful to me.

The Cambridge manuscripts were put in charge of Prof. C. C. Bendall and his catalogue of Cambridge Mss. was published in 1883. Prof. Bendall's catalogue did not go into the contents of the work beyond giving the full colophons or so to say the chapter headings, but he very accurately gave the post-colophon statements in which there was much historical information about the copying of the work, its date, the king



in whose reign the copy was made and other information of the highest importance to the history of Nepal. He discovered in these Mss. oldest Bengali writings, some of them going to times before the Musalman conquest of Bengal, one in transitional Gupta character going so far back as 859 A.D. He gave an historical introduction and a palæographical introduction to his catalogue and illustrated the description of some of the Mss. with plates. But as I have said before, he did not go into the contents of the works. That difficult task was performed by Raja R. L. Mitra. He gave the contents of every big work whether philosophical, ritualistic or religious. The shortcomings of these catalogues were many. The old writing was difficult to decipher. Many technical terms were but imperfectly understood, and the history and doctrines of Northern Buddhism were almost unknown. Yet these two works roused the interest of the savants of Europe and the students in India. The Archæological Department of India though in its infancy had discovered in Sanchi, Barhut, Mathura and other places sculptures giving not only incidents of the life of Buddha but pictures illustrating the story of his former births and the good work done by his disciples and other great men who helped in the propagation of Buddhism. Many of these sculptures were explained by the Jātaka-avadāna stories from Rajendra Lal's Nepalese Buddhist Literature. I distinctly remember the Raja's interest in comparing these stories with those sculptures and his rapturous delight when he could identify one of the stories with one of these sculptures. The Archæological Department also busied itself with the sculptures. The sculptures mostly went to the 1st, 2nd and 3rd century B.C. and it was wonderful that these sculptures simply reflected the stories of Buddhist literature.

The labours of that intrepid Hungarian scholar Cosma de Koros preceded by a few decades the appearance of these catalogues which brought to light a large portion of the Tibetan translations of the Sanskrit works written in India on Buddhism in two grand divisions the Kangyur and the

Tangyur containing a collection of Buddha's sayings and sermons, commentaries on them and other miscellaneous works. It now became possible to trace some of these translations to their originals. Similarly the originals of some of the Chinese translations were also traceable. It opened a great vista of research which might engage generations of scholars for many centuries to come.

The publication of these two catalogues containing descriptions of old original works written in India in Sanskrit is of the highest moment in understanding the history and the doctrines of the form of Buddhism prevailing in Northern India from the 2nd century of the Nirvāṇa era to the present day. It also gave the public a good deal of information of all the stages of Buddhism in India from the 8th century A. D. when the Chinese ceased to come to the time when Buddhism became only a name in N. India. A good deal of the history of Buddhism from the 4th to the 7th centuries in India was known from the translations in European languages or the travels of the great Chinese travellers like Fa-hian, Hiuen Tsang, and I-tsing. But of the later centuries nobody knew anything. Indian people thought that Buddhism disappeared from the face of India after the advent of Śaṅkarācāryya about 800 A. D. But here was found undoubted evidence of Buddhism still flourishing in full vigour for four or five centuries more.

Soon after publishing his English catalogue of Cambridge Buddhist Mss., Prof. Bendall came to India and travelled to Nepal and Rajputana. He discovered a few Mss. and took immense materials for working out a history of Nepal and of Buddhism. The story of his meeting with me could read like a novel. He used to come to the Sanskrit College. I was also not remiss in visiting my *Alma Mater*. We often met without knowing each other. One day he wanted to see the Sanskrit College at Mulajore and Mm. Mahesh Ch. Nyāyaratna took him there. I was also requested by the Mm. to be present at Mulajore. We three examined the



College and Prof. Bendall was shown all those things in which a European Sanskrit scholar was likely to be interested. The Mm. was then suffering from gout and Prof. Bendall was very anxious to see the indigenous tōls at Bhatpara. The Mm. therefore asked me to take Prof. Bendall with me and show him the tōls. We entered into a carriage and began to talk. Prof. Bendall complained that there was in India a very large number of Sanskrit scholars, but there were none who took interest in Buddhism. I asked him if he had any doubts and difficulties about Sanskrit Buddhism in which he was so much interested. He asked me a few general questions which I readily answered. Then he asked me if I could introduce him to Haraprasad Śāstrī who had been so well-spoken of by Raja R. L. Mitra. I told him that I could easily do it, but with a significant smile. In a few minutes I had to reveal myself to him and since then we were friends. He asked me where all that Buddhism has gone. I could give him no reply. But he would not leave me. For several years we were regular correspondents and the burden of every one of his letters was 'where was all that Buddhism gone'? I was already looking for traces of Buddhism all round me without success. I picked up every bit of information that I could of the former existence of Buddhism in Bengal. But I could not find where that Buddhism had gone till at last after nearly 13 years I found Buddhism still remaining as a living religion in western Bengal. This discovery was of very great moment for the social, intellectual, moral, and even the caste history of Bengal but that is another story. I am at present concerned only with Northern Buddhism and not the cryptic Buddhism which I have discovered in Western Bengal.

The publication of the catalogues by Raja R. L. Mitra and Prof. Bendall gave an impetus to Buddhist scholars both in India and Europe to publish Buddhist Sanskrit works. Raja R. L. Mitra published the *Lalitavistara* and the *Aṣṭa-sūhasrikā-prajñā pāramitā* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series.

The first is on the life of Buddha and the second on the doctrines of the Mahāyāna Buddhism. Prof. Bendall published the *Sikṣasamuccaya* a wonderful book. It is a summary of Buddhist doctrines with a vast number of authorities quoted in Sanskrit and various Sanskritic languages. M. Senart published the *Mahāvastu-avadāna* the earliest work yet known of the Northern Buddhism, written in a language which may be termed either Sanskritised vernacular or vernacularised Sanskrit, and which M. Senart called mixed Sanskrit. I contributed my mite in publishing the *Svayambū Purāṇa* the only *Purāṇa* of the Buddhists, giving the topography of one of the most important places of pilgrimage in Nepal, with all its shrines and monasteries and stūpas. Profs. Cowell and Neil published the *Divyāvadāna* a collection of *avadāna*-stories written at various times and various places. There was also *Kāraṇḍavyūha* giving the marvellous achievements in emancipating people by Avalokiteśvara. It was published not as a Buddhist work but as a Jaina work in a series of Jaina canonical works published by Paṇḍit Satyavrata Sāmaśramī under the patronage of Raja Dhanapāl Sinha of the District of Murshidabad.

When the *Svayambhū Purāṇa* was printed off, I was anxious to identify the places and shrines, mentioned in that unique work, and therefore went to Nepal in 1897. I saw all the spots mentioned in the *Purāṇa* and all the rivers and cities in the valley of Nepal and made notes on them. But I found that Mr. Oldfield in his sketches of Nepal had already done much that I wanted to do. I might have given some more information and collated them with that given in the *Purāṇa* edited by me. But my interest was absorbed by the Durbar Library. There was a Durbar Library, perhaps more Durbar Libraries than one, as there were more than one independent kingdom in the small valley of Nepal. But the Libraries were dissipated on the Gorkha conquest of the Valley in 1768 and nobody knew where the Mss. of these Libraries were gone. In 1868 when I was still a school student in the Sanskrit College,



my attention was arrested by a small pamphlet published by Mr. R. Lawrence, Resident of Nepal, under the title "Lists of Sanskrit Works supposed by the Nepalese Paṇḍits to be rare in the Nepalese Libraries at Khatmandu". That showed that there was at that time no Durbar Library. Prof. Bendall went there in 1884, shortly after we met at Mulajore and he did not see the Library. So the Durbar Library in 1897 appeared to me to be a discovery of the highest moment. I, at once, asked permission to visit the Library and work there. The permission was readily accorded by Sir Bir Samser Jung Rana the Prime Minister who took a great interest in the Mss. and in the Library. In fact, as I subsequently learnt, it was His Highness who put all the Mss. in the palaces and started the Library in the college premises and was doing everything to bring all Mss. in the Valley to the Library. He subsequently built a spacious hall with a clock tower where the Library is now kept.

After this discovery I spent all my time in the Ms. Library examining old palm-leaf manuscripts. The Library was then kept in the college premises to the south of Rani Pokra. I discovered some unique Mss. of very great age. My notes on these Mss. were embodied in a paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal of that year under the title 'Notes on Mss. in the Durbar Library, Nepal.' When that paper was published, Prof. Sylvain Lévi of Paris came to Calcutta with a view to visit the Library himself. He remained at Katamundu for a month, and collected some Mss. and inscriptions. With these materials he published a history of Nepal and edited with a French translation the Mahāyāna Sūtrālaṅkāra attributed to Asaṅga, which for the first time gave the world some definite idea of the Mahāyāna system of Buddhism of the Yogācāra school. Within six months of Prof. Sylvain Lévi's departure from Nepal, Prof. Bendall was anxious to visit the same Library and arranged with the Secretary of State for India that I should accompany him and stop in Nepal for two months during the winter of 1898

and 1899. We remained in adjoining houses in the Residency and went every alternate day to the Library. His object was to write a history and chronology of Nepal and adjoining states and my object was to write a descriptive catalogue of the palm-leaf Mss. which are very old. Our joint work was issued in my name under the title of 'Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper-Mss. in the Durbar Library of Nepal,' to which Prof. Bendall appended a history of Nepal and the surrounding countries. The catalogue was issued in 1905 before which time however Prof. Bendall had breathed his last. This catalogue brought to light the literature of many Śaiva and Buddhist sects which were all forgotten. The Tāntric works in this catalogue are unique. The opinion that the Tantras were recent, not more than five centuries old, became absolutely untenable by the discovery of a large number of Tāntric Mss. in the handwriting of the 10th century of the Christian era. The prevailing opinion in Europe was that the Purāṇas could not go back beyond 800 A. D. For this opinion Horace Hayman Wilson, I believe, is responsible. It was also believed that the Skanda Purāṇa was a myth and that it existed only in Khaṇḍas and Māhātmyas. But the discovery of a palm-leaf Ms. of that Purāṇa in later Gupta character at once made both these opinions untenable. Prof. Bendall was very unwilling to admit that the Ms. was so old, and we often talked on the subject and I maintained that the Ms. belonged to the 6th century and that the writing resembled that of the Horiuzi Ms. kept in the Horiuzi Monastery in Japan where it has been lying since 609 A. D. But Prof. Bendall could not admit that it was so old and stoutly maintained that it was written in the 9th century. Finding that we were quarrelling on these facts for several days Mrs. Bendall one day told us both to bring all the materials on which we held our opinions and to decide the questions once for all. She very kindly consented to be our umpire. So one day we three sat on the verandah of the College Library and brought all the Mss., charts, and drawings and began to show them to Mrs. Bendall. Prof.



Bendall had a theory that a Ms. is old in the inverse ratio of the mātrās or the top lines of letters. I readily acceded to this theory. It was however found that Bendall's Ms. of the Pārameśvara-mata-tantra copied in 859 contained many more mātrās or top lines than the Skanda Purāṇa discovered by me. Prof. Bendall had to admit that the Skanda Purāṇa was at least two hundred years older than the Pārameśvara-mata-tantra i. e., the Skanda Purāṇa was written in 659 at the latest. The umpire gave her verdict in my favour. We worked from 11 to 3 o'clock in the afternoon and the verdict was passed and we all came well satisfied with our work. The antiquity of the Purāṇas was set back by several centuries and the discovery of the unique Ms. of the Skanda Purāṇa was regarded as a great event in the history of the Paurāṇic literature.

The 'Catalogue of Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. in the Durbar library of Nepal' has been pronounced by Mr. Jayswal in one of his letters to me as a wonderland. The publication of these catalogues and the editions of some very interesting works found in Nepal during our joint expedition took nearly ten years and in 1907 I went once more to Nepal to examine the rest of the Library. In the year 1906, the Nepal government sent to the Asiatic Society a list of Mss. recently acquired. In this list was a Ms. entitled Nyāya-vārttika which the Society thought must be a work by the great Buddhist logician Diṇnāga. This excited my curiosity and I obtained permission to proceed to Nepal from the Govt. of Bengal and the Govt. of Nepal. But to my utter disappointment I found the Ms. to contain a portion of the Nyāya-vārttika by Udyotakara. But I took this opportunity to examine the rest of the palm-leaf Mss. and published on my return the second volume of the 'Palm-leaf and Selected Paper Mss. of the Durbar Library, Nepal,' in 1915. This contains a very large number of Buddhist works on Tantra mostly written and copied before the Muhammadan conquest in Bengal. The Nepal Government having

absolutely prohibited the export of palm-leaf Mss. from the country since the re-establishment of the Durbar Library, I had to collect only paper Mss., either by purchase or by copying. During the expeditions of 1897-98 and 1907, a considerable number of Mss. was collected in the Asiatic Society's rooms, and the Society pressed me to publish a catalogue of these manuscripts. So in 1916, I published a volume of Catalogue of Buddhist manuscripts being the first volume of a large number of volumes, containing descriptions from all the Mss. collected there. It contained descriptions of 119 Mss. Like Prof. Bendall I was very careful in giving the post-colophon statements and the chapter headings. Like Rajendra Lal Mitra also I wanted to give some idea of the contents of the work, but this I did not by translating abstracts but by giving profuse abstracts which appeared to me to throw light on the doctrines of Buddhism and its history. There are works in the collection which are either not to be found among the Chinese or the Tibetan translations, or though found there, were considered to have been absolutely lost in Sanskrit.

I undertook a fourth journey to Nepal in the year 1922 and found Prof. Sylvain Lévi there. I confined myself to the examination of the Sanskrit Library and took extracts from rare Mss. already described in my catalogues. My son Benoytosh Bhattacharyya who was with me busied himself in taking photographs of Buddhist images in different vibāras for his forthcoming volume on Buddhist iconography. Thus it will be seen that in the matter of the collection of Northern Buddhist Mss. Brian Hodgson began it and I have carried it on up to now. The Ms. materials have not yet been exhausted and the report has it that the Sanskrit Buddhist Mss. may be had in large numbers in Tibet and Eastern China. These are the best materials for the study of Northern Buddhism. The Tibetan and the Chinese translations come next after them, but the value of the Sanskrit materials is much greater than that of these translations. Sanskrit materials are coming out also from



other parts of India ; for instance, the Kathiwar Jaina Library has already furnished the texts and commentaries of the Nyāya Vindu by Dharmottara. The Nyāyapraveśa of Diñnāga has also been found there and the Gaikwar Sanskrit Series has undertaken to publish it. Mm. Ganapati Śāstri is also publishing a Buddhist Tantrik work entitled Ārya Mañjuśrī Sūtra Kalpa and I know other collections in Bengal and Benares containing Mss. of works on Northern Buddhism. In the 'Catalogue of the Tanjore collection of Tibetan translations' published by Beekh and the two volumes of the catalogues of the Tangyur collection published by my late lamented friend Dr. P. Cordier, as well as in the Catalogue of Chinese Tripiṭaka by Nanjio, we hear of thousands of Sanskrit Buddhist works belonging to the Northern schools of Buddhism. Of these only a very small number has been found in Sanskrit. But the Sanskrit Mss. are much more valuable than the translation. For the Chinese is a free translation, often wide from the text and the Tibetan is so absolutely literal that it is difficult to understand for one who is not a master of both the ancient Tibetan and Sanskrit. That being the case it is very difficult to write a history of Northern Buddhism from Sanskrit materials alone. But I have had the good fortune of receiving much of my information from Indrānanda the great grandson of Amṛtānanda, Hodgson's friend, philosopher, and guide. He often gave me light on the history of Buddhism which I found nowhere in printed books and Mss. But he is no more, and Buddhist scholars are becoming more and more rare in Nepal. With this preamble I now begin to give a connected history of Northern Buddhism from the second century of the Nirvāṇa era to the present day. I am fully conscious of my shortcomings and know that there are many gaps which I cannot fill up. Still I think a connected history with all its shortcomings is likely to be useful to the readers.

*(To be continued)*

HARAPRASAD SASTRI

## Bhāravi and Daṇḍin

At the Second Session of the Oriental Conference held in Calcutta in 1922 (*Proc. and Trans.*, 1923, pp. 193f), Mr. Ramakṛṣṇa Kavi announced the discovery of two manuscripts containing the texts of an hitherto unknown *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* in prose and its metrical summary *Avanti-sundarī-kathā-sāra*, which, in his opinion, threw fresh light on the date and mutual relation of Bhāravi, the author of the *Kirātārjunīya* and Daṇḍin, author of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*. He has since, under the editorship of Pandit S. K. Rāmanātha Śāstrī, has published these two interesting works in the Dakṣiṇabhārati Series, No. 3 (1924) with an introduction which practically reproduces his article on the subject referred to above.

Of these two works, the *Avanti-sundarī-kathā* is in prose with an introduction in verse but is published as a much broken fragment consisting of 18 or 19 hopelessly worm-eaten leaves, which occupy about 25 pages in print. It conforms to the technical requirements of a *kathā*, not as indicated by the author of the *Kāvya-darśa* but as given by Rudraṭa<sup>1</sup>; but it is curious that it contains, after the manner of an *ākhyāyikā*<sup>2</sup>, an introductory metrical *namaskriyā* and praise of older poets, followed in the prose part, at the outset, by an account of the poet's family and of his motive in composing the work. From this prose part of the work it is, however, difficult to gather connected information about the author himself, on account of the extremely unsatisfactory nature of the fragmentary text, which contains large lacunae in almost every third line.

1 See my article on *The Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā* in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, iii, pp. 508f, 514f, 517.

2 As in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita*.



But these autobiographical details regarding the author are rendered intelligible by the incomplete metrical summary published along with it and entitled *Avanti-sundarī-kathā-sāra*. It is apparently of a different and much later authorship.

The °*Kathā-sāra* gives the name of the author, presumably of the original story, as Daṇḍin, and sets forth his genealogy and a somewhat fanciful account of the origin of the work. We are told that a family of Kauśika Brāhmaṇas, who were living in a north-western province, named Ānandapura, migrated to Acalapura in the Nāsikya country, founded by Mūladeva (*mūladeva-niveśita*). There was born Dāmodara from Nārāyaṇa-svāmin, like Ādideva springing from the navel of Nārāyaṇa<sup>1</sup>. Referring to Dāmodara, it goes on to say (i. 22) :

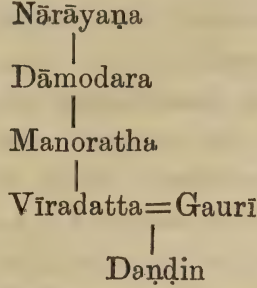
*sa medhāvī kavir vidvān bhāravīḥ prabhavo girām  
anurudhyākaron maitrīm narendre viṣṇuvardhane*

Then we are told that while living with Durvinīta (who is called *gāṅgeya-kula-dhvaja*, apparently a prince of the Gaṅgā dynasty), he sent an *āryā*-verse to the Pallava king Siṃha-*viṣṇu*, who invited him to his court, where Dāmodara appears to have thenceforth lived. He had three sons, of whom Manoratha was the second. Of Manoratha's four sons Vīradatta married Gaurī, and a son named Daṇḍin, who is the narrator of the story, was born to them. Then the story goes on to give us some account of Daṇḍin who was fostered by Śruta and Sarasvatī, having been rendered orphan in his childhood ; and he was well versed, among other things, in the science of architecture. We are not concerned at present with this part of the account.

These details agree substantially with what one can gather from the fragmentary prose narrative. Mention is made of Acalapura and *kuśika-vaṇśa*, of Dāmodara being born of Nārāyaṇa-svāmin, of Dāmodara's friendship with Viṣṇuvardhana

1 *Tasyām nārāyaṇasvāmi-nāmno nārāyaṇōdarāt.  
dāmodara iti śrīmān ādideva ivōbhavat.* (i. 21.)

and so forth. Now, from these we get the genealogy of Daṇḍin who according to the °*Kathā* and the °*Kathā-sāra* was the narrator of the story of *Avantisundarī* thus :



We will try to deal in another paper with the question whether this Daṇḍin is the same as the author of the *Daśa-kumāra-carita*, and whether the prototype of the latter work is this newly discovered *Avantisundarī-kathā* ; but assuming for the present that the two Daṇḍins are identical, our main concern in this paper is to consider the statement of Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi that the two texts published here establish that Daṇḍin was the great-grandson in the direct line of the poet Bhāravi. If this opinion can be taken as beyond question, it would prove to be a fact of immense importance in the history of Sanskrit literature.

Unfortunately the published texts have not succeeded in removing all doubts and settling the question definitely. The only place where Bhāravi is mentioned is in the verse quoted above from the °*Kathā-sāra*, with reference to Dāmodara who is given as the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin and the whole statement regarding Daṇḍin's relation to Bhāravi stands or falls with this verse alone. The interpretation given to this verse by Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi is presumably that Bhāravi is spoken of here as identical with Dāmodara, whose alternative name or alias was such, although it is curious that there is no direct suggestion of such an alias but for the apparently appositional use (assuming the text to be unobjectionable) of the word *Bhāravi*, used as a proper name, along with *saḥ* (he) referring to Dāmodara. But the construction



is somewhat peculiar, and one cannot reconcile himself to the abruptness with which Dāmodara is mentioned in the verse as Bhāravi without some words indicating his identification, if it is so intended, with the great Bhāravi of the *Kirātārjunīya*. Is it possible that some qualifying adjective, such as *medhāvī* etc. immediately preceding it, is meant in or for this word? Or, is some pun or simile meant in *bhā*, *ravi* or *ravi-prabhava* which would explain the word *anurudhya* better in the context? An emendation is difficult, but the word *bhāravi* in the verse does not look very convincing. It is possible that Dāmodara had the *biruda* of Bhāravi; but if one assumes that the name of the great poet of *Kirātārjunīya* was itself a *biruda*, his real name having been Dāmodara, one would not be supported either by Sanskrit literature so far, or by any tradition authenticating such speculation regarding the well-known poet Bhāravi<sup>1</sup>.

On the other hand, assuming the verse in question to be impeccable, it is somewhat disconcerting to find nothing in the original prose *Avantisundarī-kathā* itself to support this reading or this proposed identification of Bhāravi with Dāmodara, the great-grandfather of Daṇḍin. The passage in the prose-narrative corresponding to this verse in the metrical summary runs thus (p. 6) :

(nā)rāyaṇa-svāmīno nābhi-padma iva brahmaika-dhāma  
dāmodara-svāmi-nāmā tameta (?).....sarvāṅga-manoharayā  
sarvajñayā vidagdhayā sarva-bhāṣā-praviṇayā pramāṇa-yuktayā  
lalita-pada-vinyāsa.....sneham asvajyata.

Again,

yataḥ kauśi(ka).....va puṇya-karmaṇi viṣṇuvardhan-  
ākhye rāja-sūnau praṇayam anvabadhnāt<sup>2</sup>.

1 A poet Dāmodara, Dāmodarabhaṭṭa or Dāmodaradeva is quoted independently of Bhāravi, in the anthologies *Śārṅgadhara-paddhati*, *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta*, *Padyavalī* as well as in *Bhoja-prabandha*.

2 In these quotations, the dots, indicating lacunae, are given as in the printed text.

Dāmodara is mentioned again at p. 7, but his other and more famous name (if it was so) viz., Bhāravi, is nowhere alluded to or coupled with his real name. On the other hand, in the metrical introduction (p. 3, verse 22) of the prose-story, the author refers apparently to himself as *dāmodara-vaṃśaja* and not as *bhāravi-vaṃśaja* which would certainly have served as a better introduction of himself to his public. If he was really a descendant of the great poet Bhāravi, he should have been naturally proud of his illustrious literary lineage and would have taken enough care to apprise his reader of the fact. It is surely too much to rely upon a doubtful verse of a later summary of presumably different authorship and theorise on its basis upon the relation of Bhāravi and Daṇḍin with any complacent assurance. It is not suggested that the genealogy of Daṇḍin, the author or narrator of the *Avantisundarī-kathā*, as given here is unreliable; but one cannot readily accept the relationship of this Daṇḍin (whoever he was) with Bhāravi sought to be made out on the authority of this verse alone. On the other hand, the probable date of Bhāravi, who was certainly later than Kālidāsa but earlier than the Aihole inscription of 634 A. D. in which he already appears as famous, would roughly coincide with that of Simhaviṣṇu of the Pallava dynasty, who may be taken as belonging to the end of the 5th century; and the mention of this prince in this connexion in the text would make one pause before he can sweepingly reject the theory set forth by Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇa Kavi. All that can be said for the present is that the theory cannot be taken as settled or beyond question until other data are forthcoming to corroborate this unique verse, which is itself of doubtful authority.

Apart from this question of literary chronology, however, there can be no doubt that these works are important publications, for which the learned editors deserve all credit, even though it is a great pity that the *Avantisundarī-kathā* could not be recovered except as a hopeless mass of fragments.



These works are of great interest in view of the question of their relation to the *Daśa-kumāra-carita* and its author Daṇḍin ; which question, however, would require a detailed study and cannot be discussed within the limited scope of this paper.

S. K. DE

## Some Aspects of the Economic Life in Ancient India

( AS DEPICTED IN THE RĠVEDA )

In this article we propose to deal with some obscure points in regard to the economic life of the early Indo-Aryans which have not been attempted to be studied so far. The development of agriculture, art, and crafts has been studied by some scholars. Here we shall study something about the trade and commerce of the people of the time and about the units of measurement and exchange as used by them.

### I Trade and Commerce

Trade of course existed in the period of the Rgveda but the villages being more or less self-contained units, and the wants of the people being limited, it was naturally confined within narrow limits. *Kraya* is the word for exchange in the later Samhitās, derived from the root *kri*, to buy. In the Rgveda we find the use of this root only on a few occasions<sup>1</sup>. Ordinarily sale and purchase constituted exchange of things only. Barter was the normal system and no popular medium of exchange as such existed. Indra is offered libations in exchange for ten milch

<sup>1</sup> iv, 24, 10.

kine<sup>1</sup>. From this some have concluded that cattle formed the medium of exchange. But the use of the word does not seem to justify such an assumption.

Human nature being what it is, the attempt on the part of the parties to depress the exchange value of the commodities of others must have been the same. The higgling and bargain-

ing of the market was known in those early  
Higgling of the market. days. Even as it is to day, an exchange transac-

tion was complete and irrevocable as soon as it was arranged and delivery of things made over. This is clearly indicated in a hymn to Indra by R̥ṣi Vāmadeva<sup>2</sup>. A man realised a small value for an article of great value, *bhūyasā vasnam acarat kanīyas*, that is, by (giving up) much a man acquired (in exchange) a little wealth or value. Coming again to the buyer he said : this has not been sold ; I want the full price. But he does not recover the small price by getting a large equivalent now ; whether helpless or clever they adhere to their bargain. *Vasna* in this passage clearly means price. But *śulka* was the usual word for price. Thus Indra's image is so dear that it would not be sold even for a large *śulka*<sup>3</sup>. The idea of price also underlies another verse where the sacrificer and his wife, by their praises, confer strength on Indra and Varuṇa to receive, for this price, great wealth from the gods<sup>4</sup>.

The merchant went by the name of *vanik*, and his position was distinctly inferior to that of the other important classes in society. Dīrghaśravas is called a *vanik*, and as such he has been distinguished from the other descendants of the same line as his, who were all r̥ṣis, simply because, according to the legend, he was compelled to live by trade during a period of famine<sup>5</sup>. The merchant is referred to as going to the wood and obtaining water, *vanig vankur āpā puriṣam*<sup>6</sup>.

1 iv, 24, 10. 2 iv, 24, 9. 3 viii, 1, 5. 4 vii, 82, 6. 5 i, 112, 11.  
6 v, 45, 6.



The avarice of a merchant is mentioned, and Indra is asked not to deal with the praisers like a merchant <sup>1</sup>.

The art of navigation had already developed Merchant. in the period of the R̥gveda<sup>2</sup>. Probably it was learnt from the Dravidians who had preceded the Aryans. The voyages into the sea were mostly sporadic expeditions either for fighting or for mere adventure. There is nothing to prove that there was any commerce carried on with any country outside India. The Maritime commerce. Babylonian commerce must have been of a much earlier date before the advent of the Aryans into India and the traditions of which had been lost after the Aryan conquest. At the same time we cannot deny the existence of some coastal trade as well as that of voyages for the treasures of the ocean<sup>3</sup>. The Aśvins are said to bring riches to king Sudās and they are requested to bring wealth to their praisers from the *samudra*<sup>4</sup>. Indra is asked to pour riches upon the worshippers from the *samudra*<sup>5</sup>. Not only are the treasures of the sea referred to, as in the above passages, but positive evidence is not wanting for the proof of actual going out to sea for gaining those treasures. Uṣas is described as the impeller of chariots which are harnessed at her coming, like those who being desirous of wealth, send ships to the sea, *samudre na śravasyavaḥ*, literally, like those, desirous of wealth, (going) for the sea<sup>6</sup>. The adorers of Indra, bearing oblations, throng round him as merchants covetous of gain, *sanisyavaḥ*, crowd the ocean on a voyage<sup>7</sup>. The worshippers praise the deities for desirable things as those, desiring to acquire riches, praise the ocean on traversing it <sup>8</sup>, *samudram na sañcarāṇe sanisyavaḥ*, explained thus : those wishing to possess riches for the sake of

1 i, 33, 3.

2 i 116, 3 ; i, 182, 5 ; ii, 39, 4 ; ii, 42, 1 ; ix, 95, 21 ; x, 101, 2.

3 vii, 6, 7. 4 i, 47, 6. 5 ix, 97, 44. 6 i, 48, 3. 7 i, 56, 2.

8 iv, 55, 6.

going through the midst of the ocean praise it. From the above references it seems to be undeniable that maritime trade did exist, but its extent seems to be limited. The want of reference to masts, etc., necessary for going out far into the sea or cross over to Africa or Babylonia, suggests that no such communication was kept up by the Aryans. Along the coast, by the sea there certainly was commerce, and this commerce was extremely lucrative, so that a merchant desirous of wealth could be fully satisfied by the profits of trade in those regions. Unfortunately no reference specifically alludes to the commodities obtained by this trade. Pearls were of course obtained thus since we find the use of *mani* or jewels<sup>1</sup>. With regard to other things brought and with regard to the commodities exported, we are not told anything.

## II Units of Measurement and Exchange

From the R̥gveda we do not find any clue to a measure of weight. Most probably there was no such measure as things were measured either by number or by volume. It is doubtful whether any measure of weight was ever known to the Aryans during the whole of the Vedic age. The conception of weight as a standard of comparison is always a matter of late growth in the history of a nation. Among the Greeks and the Romans we do not find any trace of it in the early stages of their development. Owing to insufficiency of evidence we cannot ascertain even the approximate date from which they began to use weights as such. But in their case, these systems were not developed by themselves but were borrowed from the Egyptians. Among the latter, these existed only at a very late stage of their development, and considerable doubt has been cast on their popularity in the ordinary transactions of daily life. The history of the Teutons is much better known. In their case weights and measures were unknown at the time

Weights and  
measures.



of the conquest of England. Even during the period just following the Norman Conquest we do not hear anything about weights, although otherwise, particularly in political and administrative matters, they were well developed.

Measures of distance, on the other hand, grew at a very early stage. Distance is the most familiar conception in the life of a people, especially during the periods of migration. One day's march or a few days' march would readily become a sort of measure. When settled in a locality this conception helps equally well. The distance from one village to another, from one end of the field to the other, all begin with certain indefiniteness, but all tend ultimately to crystallise into definite measures of distance, suiting, for all practical purposes, the habits of thought of a primitive people. The Aryans in the Vedic age also had such conceptions of distance as measures. *Gavyuti* is frequently found in the R̥gveda. Its meaning has been the subject of some discussion leading to differences of opinion. But in one passage it clearly indicates a distance, although what exactly it is cannot be ascertained. Agni is asked to drive away further than a *gavyuti* from the devotee, poverty, hunger, and the strong demons<sup>1</sup>. Most probably it signified an indefinite and very long distance, since one would like to be as far away as possible from these evils. In the *Brāhmaṇas* also the word was recognised as a measure of distance.

On the other hand *yojana* was definitely a measure of distance. It means the distance which can be covered by one ride, that is, what can be traversed at one stretch without unyoking the horses. Thus the Dawn is said to precede Varuṇa (here indentified with Sun) by thirty *yojanas*<sup>2</sup>. With fast horses Indra can traverse many *yojanas* at one stretch<sup>3</sup>. The Maruts are described as swift-moving like rivers and as having traversed many *yojanas* like mares who have journeyed far<sup>4</sup>.

1 viii, 60, 20. 2 i, 123, 8. 3 ii, 16, 3. 4 x, 78, 7.

For purposes of trade and exchange it is essential that some standard should be devised by which comparisons can be made. If measure by weight was unknown at so early a date the people had to substitute for it a measure by volume. This was essential for even the elements of economic and social life. The Soma sacrifice was the great occasion in those days when the communal life was focussed and represented, and it is in this connection that we hear of a measure by volume. *Khāri* was a jar which measured the quantity of the soma juice. Indra asked to give a hundred *khāris* of soma juice<sup>1</sup>. Of the measures in ordinary life we have several of them. *Ūrdara*<sup>2</sup> was either such a measure or it was a granary. In either case it could broadly compare one heap of grains with another. *Sthivi* also occurs in the *Ṛgveda*<sup>3</sup> with the same meaning. It occurs also in its adjectival form *sthivimant*<sup>4</sup>. That they helped measurement is certain, but it is equally certain that measurement by volume, like measurement by distance, was crude. This only shows an imperfect growth of the elements of retail trading.

In the period of the *Ṛgveda*, barter was the form of exchange, and there had not as yet arisen any need for a medium of exchange. In one passage<sup>5</sup> suspicion is raised about its existence, where Ṛṣi Kakṣīvat speaks of having received a hundred *niṣkas*, *niṣka* being a golden necklace. So many *niṣkas* could not have been used by one for personal adornment. It must have served the purpose of getting other things of life. Still we cannot say that it was the usual currency because its mention is so rare, and because its value could not be consistent with its use as a popular medium of exchange. Here also we cannot be positive as we do not know the value of gold in comparison with that of other commodities as determined by exchange. The safe course would, therefore, be to admit *niṣka* as having been a medium of exchange in the period of the

1 iv, 32, 17. 2 ii, 14, 11. 3 x, 68, 3. 4 x, 17, 5. 5 i, 126, 2.



*Rigveda* and to restrict its use to rare occasions or within a limited circle owing to the very rare occurrence of the word as such medium and to its probably too high value.

PRAPHULLA CHANDRA BASU

## The Aryan Rule of India

It has been assumed, and the assumption has long passed into an axiom of Indian history, that Aryans, after first conquering a part of Northern India, close to the Western frontier, gradually extended their conquests to the whole of India, and held regal sway over their conquests, until general unsettlements of power led to changes within comparatively recent times.

We know that during what is known as the Hindu period, which covered many centuries following the Vedic times, India comprised a large number of kingdoms, and for the greater length of that period, the thrones of all these or nearly all were filled by princes of the two royal houses of the Sun and the Moon. After Paraśu Rāma arose as a great military hero, he led a colony of Brāhmaṇas into the Western littoral, and there founded the dynasty of Agni-kula, so called apparently after his patronymic, the name of his father being Jamad-Agni. These three houses—the first two as the ancient, the third as the later in date—were the recognised royal houses in India (others which were impermanent being not counted), and Indian princes, even at the present day, generally trace their descent to one or another of these houses.

If these dynasties were Aryan, then it would follow that the rule of post-Vedic India was Aryan, and the axiom referred to above should be accepted as sound. But were they Aryan? It seems to me that the question has yet to be answered.

There seems to be some confusion of thought with regard to the inter-relation of the terms Aryan, Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya etc. The prevalent idea is found to be that Aryan is the generic term denoting race, and that Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc. are specific terms denoting sub-divisions of that particular race ; in other words, the terms Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, etc. necessarily imply Aryan descent. I can see no justification for this idea. That Aryan society in India was divided into four orders is a well-known historical fact ; but it is equally the fact that the names of the four orders seem to have carried no racial significance, and to have been used in a general sense of professions or social grades, which under the same names would have been true of any community. Thus Pulastya was the progenitor of the Rākṣasa royal family of Ceylon, and was presumably himself a Rākṣasa or Dravidian ; but he was a priest, and therefore a true Brāhmaṇa. When Viśvāmitra was a ruling prince, he was necessarily a Kṣatriya ; but later he changed into a priest, and then he was a Brāhmaṇa ; of his sons a good many turned out to be Dasyus, a term which in the language of the Aryans themselves, meant aliens to their race. There were Kṣatriyas among the Aryans ; so there were among the Scythians on the North, the Chinese on the East, the Tamils on the South, and the Yavanas (Greeks plus any other nationalities) on the West. Clearly then a Brāhmaṇa or a Kṣatriya was not on that account an Aryan ; he may have been of any race.

In the view of the Aryans, the question of race was very simple ; all humanity consisted of two divisions ; the first division included the four classes of Aryan society ; the second the Dasyus who were all the rest of mankind alien to the Aryans. The distinction is thus authoritatively drawn by Manu (X. 45) :—

Mukhabāhūrupajjānām  
Yā loke jātayo bahiḥ  
Mlecchavācas cāryavācas  
Sarve te dasyavaḥ smṛtāḥ.



“Whatever races be in the world outside those born from the mouth, the arms, the thighs, and the feet (of Brahmā), they all, whether speaking the language of the barbarians, or speaking the language of the Āryas, are known in law as Dasyus”.

The ‘Āryas’ were the people whom we are speaking of as the Aryans.

The definition of Manu is clear, precise, and emphatic. According to it, the supreme test of Aryan race is descent from Brahmā in one of the four ways mentioned. This may sound mythical; but it ceases to be mythical and becomes the basis of sound history, once the society has fallen into groups on that idea, and the tradition of the descent running in the four orders of society has become the hall-mark of the race; for whether the hall-mark had its origin in fact or fancy, it serves this practical purpose: that it racially differentiates those bearing the hall-mark from those not. Hence, if the attested pedigree of a family shows descent different from the four ways of the Aryans, that family is devoid of this hall-mark and is therefore Dasyu or non-Aryan. There may be other evidences, such as those of modern science, leading up to a decision; but considering that Manu’s dictum, whatever be its mythical basis, ought to have been sound as a criterion from the very beginning of society and must always prevail; those modern evidences can only be corroborative and never contradictory of its finding. With the ground so cleared, we will now proceed to enquire whether the three royal houses of India were really Aryan in origin.

We will begin with the house which was descended from an admitted Brāhmaṇa sage Jamad-Agni. This holy man was the descendant of Bhṛgu, and Bhṛgu’s son Śukra was the great preceptor of the Asuras, who were non-Aryans and always enemies of the Āryas, potential if not always actual. The early history of the family therefore was on the non-Aryan or native side; and when we look into the origin of Bhṛgu himself, we find that his son, the pre-

ceptor of the Asuras, was rightly where he should have been on the side of his blood. For Bhṛgu was not born from the mouth of Brahmā, as an Aryan priest should have been; he simply sprang from the skin of Brahmā, along with flames, whence perhaps the beginning of the Agni connection. Whatever the legend of his birth may stand for, it is clear in the light of Manu's dictum that he was not an Aryan. Moreover, between the Brāhmaṇas of his clan, the colonists of Paraśu Rāma, who are said to be known as Mahārāṣṭra Brāhmaṇas, and the Brāhmaṇas of Northern India, who go upon their own traditions, it is said that there is absolutely no bond of community. So far, then, we have evidence direct and presumptive that the Agni-kula was non-Aryan, or by a comprehensive term applicable in the case, Dravidian. Is there any evidence to the contrary?

We now come to the Lunar Race. The first real conflict between the Aryans who have somehow found their way into India, and having secured a foot-hold, were showing a disposition to acquire more room for expansion, appears in the resistance offered by Śambara, the king of the Asuras. This Dravidian prince, backed as he was by endless odds available against limited numbers, was apparently too powerful in the field for Divodāsa, the leader of the Aryans, and a curious thing happens: the great Dravidian prince allows himself to be rolled down the side of a precipice and killed. That he was surprised is plain; but was it in actual warfare, or under circumstances where he had no occasion for suspicion? Whatever may have been the true character of the surprise, it was a good stroke of business on the part of the Aryans. The forts of Śambara were destroyed, and his forces, disheartened by the fall of their chief, were scattered; and no doubt the Aryans reaped advantages which must have stood them in good stead for a good long time to come. This closes the first stage of the Aryan advance. The struggle with the native princes, however, had only commenced, and here we may remark that Śambara had left a number of brothers, two of



whom (in the Aryan translation of their names) were Sūrya and Candramas, or Sun and Moon.

What length of time may have passed before we witness the next stage of the struggle, we cannot say. The Aryans had slowly but steadily pushed their way forward south-by-east, fighting, as we may suppose, every inch of ground, and adding a few stadia to their Dominion every year, until they found themselves on the northern bank of the river Sarasvatī, where they settled down and consolidated their position. Their main strength lay in the warlike tribe of Tr̥tsus, whose chief, Sudās a descendant of Divodāsa was now their leader. Sudās was a good general and a man of foresight; and seeing the disadvantage of paucity of numbers as compared with the strength of the foe he strengthened himself by making alliances with warlike tribes outside the Indian frontier, such as the Persians and the Medes. In the meantime the native princes were also seeing the value of concerted action, and Kutsa the chief of the Pūrus was able to take the field at the head of a powerful confederation of ten princes with their tribal levies. The allied army, intending to march to the Sarasvatī, collected on the northern bank of the Paruṣṇī (modern Ravi); but the watchful Sudās, who had knowledge of the movement, had gathered his foreign allies, and not waiting to be attacked on a matured plan, boldly marched forward and appeared on the southern bank of the Paruṣṇī. To that extent he had surprised the enemy and upset their arrangements; but a fierce battle ensued and both sides fought with grim determination. Both sides claimed the victory, but the truth seems to be that on both sides there was much crossing of the river for attacks and counter-attacks, and both sides suffered heavily. The moral effect, however, went in favour of the intrepid leader of the Tr̥tsus; for on returning to his settlement, he found that he could now take a forward step, and crossing the Sarasvatī, he occupied the fertile tract of country between that river and the Dr̥śadvatī. This was a momentous acquisition; it became the premier settlement of the Brāhmaṇas

of the horde, and under the name of Brahmāvarta, became famous thenceforward as the centre of Aryan tradition and Aryan influence. But it was the last achievement of the Aryans as a military people, culminating in a triumph ; their armed career now comes to a close.

For, when next history re-opens to our view, it is no longer the strife between the foreign Aryans and the native Dravidians, but the peaceful amalgamation of the two races under the beneficent rule of Trasadasyu the prince of the Pūrus. Trasa-dasyu was undoubtedly the greatest statesman in the early epoch of Indian History. A gifted man and a brave soldier, he was at the same time a most benevolent and amiable prince ; and he had made himself so acceptable to both his own race and to the Aryans, that the two erstwhile enemy-peoples had chosen to come under a single supreme government of which he was to be the head as their Samrāt or Emperor. His position in Brahmāvarta now was somewhat analogous to that of James I in England ; and following the analogy, we are tempted to suppose that he inherited both his blood and his united sovereignty by descent from both sides. But no. He was the son whom the gods have given to Purukutsānī (Lady Puru-kutsa) to console her husband for his want of success in his great undertaking against the Aryans ; and Puru-kutsa was a native prince. By the Aryans, the Emperor was spoken of in eulogistic terms as their friend and ally, which, while showing the firm bond of union that was between the two races, and the tendencies which were developing under him for the eventual Aryanization of the whole of India, also goes to show that the Emperor was their master not by race but by adoption. According to later accounts, the royal house supreme in this part of the country, was Candra Vaṃśa ; and there too the first king had Pūru in his name : Purūravas (formed from Pūru and ravas). He was descended from Candra, who is represented to us as the god of the Moon. From the historical associations we have so far pursued, it seems reasonable to



give the story a human interpretation and to see in the god of the Moon the Prince Candramas, the brother of Śambara. It was their clan that was in the forefront in the first great opposition to the Aryan advance. Later on, Puru-kutsa appears on the scene filling the great place of Śambara as the leading opponent. Was he the tribal successor? Evidently he was. And what is more, he was in all probability the son of Candramas the prince and if so, the Budha of the celestial account. Be that as it may, there can be no doubt as to the identity of the Candra Vaṃśa with the dynasty founded by Trasa-dasyu, a member of the native tribe of the Pūrus. It was therefore Dravidian. And independently, it seems to have been of that branch of the Dravidian race which was known as the Nāgas. One of the earliest princes of the house was Nahuṣa, a great king. Owing to an unhappy accident, he fell from his high state, and then he became a serpent. The meaning seems plain : shorn of his glory, he became a mere Nāga.

If we take the celestial origin of the house, we have necessarily to apply Manu's canon, and we again arrive at the same result that the house was Dravidian. For the Moon-god, the progenitor of the race, had not his descent from Brahmā in any one of the four ways of Aryan society, and his Indian descendants were therefore Dasyus. In this connection, it is remarkable that the name of the first Emperor was Trasa-dasyu, which, whatever Aryan expositors might say by a laboured construction, seems to mean "Dasyu the Mobile" *i. e.* a Dasyu ever in motion, which he was expected to be, considering the times of commotion and the position of command to which he was born.

In this connection, it may be here mentioned as a relevant fact that Kṛṣṇa, the best representative of the Lunar race, was a very dark person, and a skin so decidedly dark and in that early age, would, in the case of an Aryan, have been an impossibility.

Lastly we come to the race of the Sun. The earthly

ancestor of this race was Manu VII, and according to the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*, he was Draviḍeśvara, *i.e.* Chief of the Draviḍas. This connects him with the Draviḍas, either as an alien who had become their ruler, or, far more probably, as the most prominent member of the race with position of command. Which of the two remains to be ascertained by other evidence.

Now, the typical Dravidian is dark in colour, and in the full vigour of manhood, his eyes are red. What is the portraiture we see in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the personal appearance of Rāma the flower of the Solar Race? The colour of his skin was that of the blue lily, and his eyes were of the same hue as the petals of the red lotus. Making due allowance for poetic embellishment, we have yet here in the main outline a true picture of the typical Tamil.

Again, among the Aryans, marriage was governed by certain stringent rules, and from peasant to king none dared to flout them for fear not only of legal punishment, but worse still, of social infamy and degradation worse than death. But among the Kṣatriyas of the Solar Race (here we confine ourselves to that race) what marriage customs do we find as being quite in order? We will mention only one as an illustration. Among the Aryans, union with one's wife's sister was incest; among these Kṣatriyas, it was a natural and most desirable domestic tie. And from the earliest times, the custom has been Dravidian.

Finally we apply Manu's canon. The Solar Race had its origin in Sūrya, and whether Sūrya was the Sun-god or Śambara's brother of that name, he too, like Candra, had not the same descent as any section of the Aryans. In mythology, he and Candra may differ among themselves in origin. But that is a question which has no bearing here; the point is that Sūrya was not an Aryan by descent, and therefore his Indian descendants could not be Aryans. Now we see the meaning of the statement in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* that Manu VII was Draviḍeśvara: he was the



chief of the Dravidas not only as their sovereign, but also as the noblest born of the race.

All this leads us to the question : "Where comes in the Aryan rule of India, which so largely colours and indeed forms the main background of all modern ideas of Indian history ?" There is no denying the fact that the Aryans made India a great country ; but it seems equally undeniable that they never ruled the land, but that dominion always rested with the native princes, who, with their tribes, were Aryanized indeed, but were none the less of Dravidian stock. The idea of Aryan rule arose with the European *savants*, and from its scientific importance seems well worth a review. My remarks are intended to show that there is a case for investigation, and I invite discussion.

W. F. GUNAWARDHANA

### Message From Barhut Jataka Labels

The Barhut railing has a fairly large number of inscriptions serving as labels for the artistic illustrations of its tale. These illustrations consist of carvings or bas-reliefs depicting various scenes from Buddha's life, past and present. The underlying scheme is two-fold : doctrinal and biographical. The biographical details are introduced only by way of an illustration of the Buddhist doctrine inculcating the equality of all the Buddhas, so that the incidents of the life of one Buddha are virtually the same as those of the life of any other Buddha. According to this doctrine, the evolution of the Buddha types of human personality is the outcome of a natural process, which is reducible into a determinate causal

order. In the tradition of the time, the legends of seven Buddhas were well known. This doctrinal scheme with some of the biographical details is laid down in the famous Mahā-padāna discourse of the Dīgha-Nikāya. The labels attached to representations of Bodhi-trees of seven Buddhas, including the missing one referring to the Bodhi-tree of Śikhi, are as follows :—

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Vipascit.”

“Śāla the Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Viśvabhṛt.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śikhi.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Kakutsandha.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Koṇāgamana.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Kāśyapa.”

“The Bodhi-tree of the Divine Master Śākyamuni.”

Here the Bodhi-tree referred to in each label not only stands as an artistic symbol of the enlightenment of a Buddha but may be taken to symbolise his whole career. The epithet Bhagavā prefixed to the name of each Buddha and rendered ‘Divine Master’ is resplendent with the Hindu or Bhāgavatic idea of divinity. Of the names of the Buddhas adopted in these labels, some, such as Koṇāgamana and Kakusandha, correspond to those in Pāli; some, such as Vipasino (genitive form) correspond to those in Buddhist-Sanskrit works; some, such as Vesabhuno (genitive form), are peculiar to Barhut tradition; and some, such as Kāsapa and Sākamuni, are common to all traditions. Comparing and contrasting these various forms of the names one cannot help thinking that the source of the Barhut tradition was neither exclusively Pāli nor exclusively one identical with any one of the known Buddhist-Sanskrit works. The source must have been an independent one, though not without some common points with other traditions. The Barhut tradition, so far as it can be tested in the light of the Mahāpadāna discourse, is yet in a stage when the lives of the previous Buddhas were not linked up by the chain of existences running through the Bodhi-sattva-career of Buddha Gautama.



As for the life-history of Buddha Śākyamuni there are several scenes, to some of which more labels than one are attached. To begin with, one has to note a solemn scene of supplication of various deities to the Bodhisattva, then born as the male god Santosita, to be reborn on the earth for the opening of the gate of immortality to all. There are three separate labels referring to different classes of deities according to their seats in the assembly :—

“The Rūpabrahma deities of Pure Abodes on the eastern side”.

“The three classes of all-pervading Rūpabrahma deities on the northern side”.

“The six thousand Kāmāvacara gods of six lower heavens on the southern side”.

Just below this is a scene of forecast of the Bodhisattva's birth characterised by the charming music of the gods. It indicated that the Bodhisattva has, after much deliberation, given his word to the joy of all. To this scene are annexed some five separate labels, the remaining four recording the names of four heavenly nymphs or dancers :—

“The jovial and ravishing music of gods”.

“Alambuṣā—the heavenly dancer”.

“Mīsrakeśī—the heavenly dancer”.

“Padmāvatī—the heavenly dancer”.

“Subhadrā—the heavenly dancer”.

The third scene is that of Queen Māyā's dream, aptly described in the label as—

“The Divine Being's Descent”.

Next to this notice is a grand scene in the palace of Śuddhodana, of an assembly of the gods making obeisance to the newly born Bodhisattva and announcing the inception of Buddhism as will appear from the following label—

“The angel Arhadgupta announces the inception  
of the Divine Master's system”.

This naturally leads the observer to a continuous scene of the great renunciation, where the Bodhisattva Prince

Siddhārtha runs away from his father's place on horse-back, protected by the angels with Arhadgupta at their head. The attached label simply records the name of the head angel—

“Arhadgupta”.

After this is to be noted the beautiful scene of the Prince's self-initiation into asceticism, followed by a great festival of the gods signalising the enshrinement of his head-dress and tuft of hair. The three annexed labels can be rendered together as follows —

“The ceremonial enshrinement of the Divine Being's hair-tuft in Sudharmā, the celestial council-hall, attached to the Mansion of Victory”.

Now one must take note of two separate scenes, one in which the angels of the Rūpabrahmaloka have come down on the back of elephants to congratulate the Bodhisattva on his victory over the hosts of Māra, and the other in which Buddha attains enlightenment. Each scene bears an inscription appropriate to it :

“The Brahma god.”

“The enlightenment of the Divine Master Śākyamuni.” The Buddhahood marked the turning point in the life of the noble Śākya prince, while with the proclamation of the truths in Benares he came to be known as the unrivalled Teacher. Accordingly there is a scene of the first sermon, labelled by the inscription —

“The Dharmacakra of the Divine Teacher.”

The conversion of three colonies of Vedic ascetics at Gaya was a notable incident, as it served to increase his fame as a powerful personality. Thus one need not be surprised that there should be a distinct scene depicting this incident, indexed by the label—

“The assembly of the Jaṭilas.”

The followers of the Buddha were yet living a wandering life of recluses of the time. The monastic life, marked by settled habits, could begin only when the kings and traders



and rich bankers made over royal parks for their permanent residence. The most important of these parks was the Jetavana in the suburb of Śrāvastī purchased by the banker Anāthapiṇḍika. The scene of dedication of this park by the banker bears the following label incised in bold letters—

“Anāthapiṇḍika dedicates Prince Jeta’s park, purchased with a layer of crores.”

A serious misunderstanding among the bhikṣus at Kauśāmbī endangering the unity and future interest of the Brotherhood led the Master to go away alone to a woodland where he spent a rainy season being waited upon by the Pārileya elephant. Though the scene is missing, the following label survives to indicate its inclusion in the Barhut scheme—

“Pārileya—the woodland resort.”

Another notable scene is that of king Ajātaśatru’s interview with the Buddha, apparently based upon an account similar to that in the Śamaññaphala-Sutta of the Dīgha-Nikāya. The king kneels before the Master’s seat as an act of obeisance, in the midst of a troop of amazonian guards, all mounted on the back of elephants. The label appropriately recording this scene is—

“Ajātaśatru bows down to the Divine Master.”

Finally one must take notice of two important scenes, the first one being the pathetic scene of the last interview of king Prasenajit of Kośala with the Master, and the second one being that of king Viḍudabha’s or Virūdhaka’s march towards Kapilavastu. The second scene represents the sudden arrest of the march by a timely intervention of the Master, while the label attached to it records the determination of the Śākyas to take the utmost risk to maintain their non-violent attitude. Now note what the labels themselves are :—

“King Prasenajit of Kośala.”

“Even if they die.”

These two incidents happened in the last year of Buddha’s life. But there are several other scenes representing various intermediate episodes, which cannot be chronologically

arranged. In all these scenes, based upon distinct stories on legends, the interlocutors and worshippers are some super-human or infra-human beings—gods, goddesses, nāgas yakṣas, and yakṣiṇīs.

In the first instance one may note the curious scene of Indraśāla or Indraśaila cave, where Śakra, the king of gods, put questions to the Buddha and praised him for his unsurpassed wisdom. The story is based upon the legend in the Sakkapañha-sutta. The annexed label records the name of—

“The Indraśaila Cave.”

On the railing-pillars at the gates one has to see the life-size figures of the four Yakṣas with labels recording their names as Dhatarāṭha (Dhṛtarāṣṭra), Viruḍaka (Virūdhaka), Virupaka (Virūpākṣa), Kupira (Kubera). The representation of these guardian angels or regents of the quarters apparently follows their description in the Mahāsamaya and the Ātānāṭiya Suttas. In a Pāli commentary Kubera is described as Kumārī-vāhana, i. e. with a maiden as his vehicle. The representation of Kubera as Nara-vāhana, i. e. with a man as his vehicle, rather points to a source similar to the Lalitavistara version of the Mahāsamaya story.

These four yakṣas of warrior-like habit and civic spirit are all benevolent deities representing a super-human type, in whose families and retinues there were the goddesses of an anthropomorphic character, the nāgas or dragons of a pitiable existence, and the ferocious and malevolent yakṣas and yakṣiṇīs of an infra-human type.

Our railing bears some figures of the popular Goddess of Luck, apparently representing two types, northern and southern. In the northern type, the goddess is seated majestically on a full-blown lotus, being anointed with water from a jar held over her head by two elephants from two sides, standing on two lotuses. Here the goddess is but an artistic form of Beauty as an aspect of the Divine Being, adored by the lotus-shaped human heart, placed under the apex of two elephant-like lungs touching each other at a



point. Of the southern type (referred to in some of the Buddhist writings as the eastern), there is only one example of a life-size female statue with prominent hip and heaving bust, expressive of the power of production and feeding. The reason for association of the former type with the life of the Buddha is not quite clear, though there is indication in the Lalitavistara story that ideal beauty or gracefulness was a corollary of the quality of Buddhahood. The figure of the latter type is indexed by the label recording the descriptive name of

“The goddess of lucky grace”.

In addition to Sirimā Devatā, there are standing figures of two weeping, bemoaning, or shrieking goddesses, representing two wild varieties, who must have been tamed by the Buddha's powers. These are :—

“The weeping goddess of the larger variety”.

“The weeping goddess of the lesser variety”.

There is, first of all, a pathetic scene of a Dragon-chief hurriedly wending his way to the Divine Saviour, together with his wife and daughter, to pay homage as a means of escape out of his present unbearable existence, in spite of his amazing hoards of wealth. The story of this interview can be traced in the Dhammapada-commentary and the Mahāvastu. The Dragon-chief was noted as one of the four richest persons. He is assigned to a home in a lake of ancient Taxila, which was a great centre of trade. To this scene are attached two labels, one simply containing his name and the other describing his pious acts—

“Erāpata [Erāpatha, Erakapatta, Ailapattra]

—the Dragon-chief”.

“The Dragon-chief Erāpata bows down to the Divine Master”.

The second scene is that of another Dragon-chief standing on a rocky ground with joined hands directed towards the invisible presence of the Buddha. The existing Buddhist

literature affords no clue to identification of the story. The annexed label clearly bears the name of :

“The Dragon-chief Cakravāka.”

It is in taming and humanising the yakṣas that the Master had to display a wonderful moral courage and spiritual powers. Of the yakṣa-scenes, our railing can produce the following specimens. There is, for instance, the life-size figure of a yakṣa standing on a hideous-looking vehicle with the tail of a Makara and the front part of a quadruped like the goat. So far as the literary description goes, this ferocious demi-god was Ajakālāpaka or goat-molester, the devourer of living beings of immortal essence, in whose temple, situated near Pātali or Pāvā, where the goats were sacrificed in groups or men entered with offerings uttering the cry ‘aja’ or ‘unborn,’ the aja or goat symbolising the unborn. The burning of the goat with a corpse is an ancient Aryan custom referred to in a Vedic funeral-hymn. Evidently the yakṣa represents Time or Death, the destroyer of living creatures. Even this dreaded being was tamed by the Buddha. The label records the name of the yakṣa as—

“Ajakālaka.”

There is another standing figure of a yakṣa in a similar devotional attitude. The particulars of this demi-god cannot be traced in any known Buddhist or Indian work. Apparently his habitat was some Gangetic region. At any rate, the label names him—

“The Gangetic yakṣa.”

There is yet another yakṣa-statue with the usual devotional attitude. This scene of interview is based upon a Buddhist discourse, from which and its commentary it is clear that the yakṣa a prickly-haired, porcupine-like demi-god who lived inside a Taṃ shaped stone-structure, on the roof of which lived another yakṣa of the rough-skinned crocodile species. The label aptly describes him as :

“The prickly-haired yakṣa.”

Though the actual figure is missing, the surviving label



legibly bears the name of a yakṣa, of whom no trace can be found in the existing Buddhist or Indian literature. He is named—

“The Supravāsa yakṣa.”

These demi-gods are all male yakṣas. Our railing also bears figures of a few female species, such as “Candrā” and “Sudarśanā” who are not met with in any known literature.

The sculptors of our railing have tried to magnify the powers of the Saviour by other means as well. There is a fine medallion-carving illustrating the glorious name of the Lord served to rescue the crew of a merchant-ship from the jaws of a whale. The label records :

“The wealthy merchant Vasugupta is rescued from the grip of a whale and brought ashore.”

This is not all. Our railing also bears representations of the lordly thrones of the mighty being, worshipped by a herd of elephants, one of which is placed in a scene having something to do with—

“Sisūpāla the fort-keeper and Venuka the gardener.”

( *To be continued* )

B. M. BARUA

## The Vicitra Nāṭak

(GURU GOVIND SINGH'S OWN ACCOUNT OF HIS EARLY ADVENTURES)

### *General description*

In the *Daśam Pādshāh kā Granth* or the Book of the Tenth Guru is incorporated the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, a metrical composition in fourteen chapters, wherein the Guru describes, among other things, some of the principal actions in which he fought, either as a principal or as an ally. The *Daśam Granth* was compiled from various materials by Bhāi Mani Singh about twenty six years after the death of Gurū Govind Singh. 'It is apparently a collection of many books of various sizes and the subjects dealt with seem to be as various.' There is clear internal evidence that different parts of the *Daśam Pādshāh kā Granth* were written by different authors at different times, but as to the authorship of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* itself there has never been any doubt, though the date of composition has not as yet been definitely settled.

Like the *Ādi Granth* and the rest of the *Daśam Granth* itself, the *Vicitra Nāṭak* is written in the Gurumukhi character but the language is old Hindi with a large admixture of Sanskrit and Persian words. Moreover, from his early training and environment at Patna, Guru Govind Singh had developed a liking for eastern forms and idioms. These he freely used in his compositions and thus introduced an element of great difficulty for the future interpreters of his work. The modern Sikh commentaries are not always convincing and there still remains much room for honest doubts. But such instances are obviously rare and with Macauliffe's unrivalled translation of the major portion of the work for our guidance, we think that it is possible to take a gauge of the work and proceed to estimate its historical importance.

Guru Govind Singh opens his work by an invocation to the Sword, which is identified in the Guru's mind with the



Lord. The first six sections of the work except a portion of the fifth, where the Guru gives a bare account of his predecessors in office, belong, more or less, to the domain of mythology and need not detain us long. But the Guru's mode of presenting his mission is extremely interesting and deserves a brief notice. Guru Govind Singh traces the history of the Sodhi family to its origin and then narrates the circumstances under which he was commanded by the Almighty to appear in this world to preach to men the true ways of religion. The origin of the Sodhi family is traced to the time-honoured line of Raghu to which belonged the celebrated hero of the Rāmāyaṇa. Lahu and Kuśu (Lava and Kuśa), the two sons of Rāma are said to have built the two cities of Lahore and Kassur, which were named after them. The descendants of these two kings continued to wield sceptres for a long time and lived in harmony till the days of Kālket and Kālraī. Kālket (descended from Kuśu) is said 'to have possessed peerless strength' and had no difficulty in expelling Kālraī (descended from Lahu) from the city. The latter fled to the Sānaudh country<sup>1</sup> where he married a king's daughter. To him a son named Sodhi Rāi was born and the Sodhi race began from that time. The Sodhis gradually became influential and independent, conquered many countries and at last invaded the Punjab. The descendants of Kuśu were defeated, and in their turn, fled to Benares where in course of time they became the readers of the *Vedas* and came to be known as the Vedīs. Another turn in the wheel of fortune came. To patch up past differences the Sodhi king of the Punjab wrote a conciliatory letter to the Vedī chief and invited him and his followers to come back to the Punjab. The Vedī chief complied with the request. On the arrival of the Vedīs the Sodhi king asked them to recite the *Vedas*. They obeyed. The

<sup>1</sup> Macauliffe says that it was situated near Benares and its inhabitants, the Sānaudhis, were afterwards called Sodhis (*Sikh Religion* Vol. v, p. 291, fn. 4.)

king was very much pleased, gave all his possessions to the Vedīs and assuming the garb of a Rkhi retired to the forest to become absorbed in God's love. The Vedī chief blessed the Soḍhi king, saying,

“When I come in the Kali Age under the name of Nānak I will make thee worthy of worship in the world. And thou shall attain the highest dignity.”

And the blessing was fulfilled when Guru Amar Dās gave the Guruship to Rām Dās Soḍhi, in whose line it became hereditary.

The Guru next relates his own circumstances and informs us that in his former life he was engaged in deep austerities in the mountain of Hem Kuṇṭ when God gave him the order to assume birth in this Kali Age. As his attention was fixed on God's feet the Guru did not desire to come but God remonstrated earnestly with him and he had to obey. It is important to notice that like his predecessor Nānak, Guru Govind Singh also does not deny the missions of the various religious teachers that preceded him but says that they did not follow the path laid down by the Almighty and arrogated to themselves the worship that was due to Him alone. There were innumerable sects with different formalities and rituals but true love of God was nowhere to be found and hence the Guru was sent to this world to establish the true Panth.

No comment on these stories is necessary here except that these and various other portions of the *Daśam Pādsāh kā Granth* ‘serve as an excellent index to the part played in Guru Govind Singh's life and activities by Hindu mythological ideas.’ As Dr. Narang says, ‘he seems to have been deeply impressed by the idea that runs throughout the Paurāṇic literature, viz., the idea of a saviour appearing from time to time to uphold righteousness and destroy unrighteousness. The circumstances in which he was placed and the tyranny and oppression that he saw around him were very likely to make him feel that the time for a new saviour had arrived and like all great men who have helped in the



advancement of humanity he felt that he himself was the man required by the times.<sup>1</sup>

But these are questions with which we have no concern here. The stories referred to above, together with the introductory invocation to the *Sword*, cover the first six sections of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* and it is with the seventh that the really historical interest of the work commences. Herein the Guru narrates briefly the story of his birth and in subsequent sections he describes his early adventures.

It may as well be stated here that even in those portions of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* which are generally regarded as being beyond the domain of history there occur a few sentences, here and there, which seem to throw some light on the career of Guru Govind Singh, or are at least very suggestive. For instance in the first section the Guru says that none had erred like him and asks the forgiveness of the Lord for his past errors. Naturally one becomes curious to know what the Guru is referring to. Again, we come across a very interesting passage in the last section of the work to which Malcolm draws attention in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*<sup>2</sup>. As the learned author points out, the Guru here seems to admit the temporal sovereignty of the descendants of Bābar. Guru Govind Singh says that the successors of both Bābā Nānak and Bābar were created by God himself and the former was to be recognised as a spiritual and the latter as a temporal king. The successors of Bābar would plunder those who would not deliver the Guru's money. We are tempted to suggest that the Guru is referring here to the well-known incident of the treacherous and fugitive *masands*, narrated in the Sikh records<sup>3</sup>. The story runs that when Husain Khan was fighting some of the Hill Rājās and the Guru, many of the *masands* fled to the hills with their accumulated treasures. But the Moghul

1 Narang, *Transformation of Sikhism*, pp. 74, 75.

2 Malcolm, *Sketch of the Sikhs*, p. 62, fn.

3 Macauliffe, Vol. v. p. 59.

general Mirza Beg, who had succeeded Prince Muazzim in the command against the Hill Rājās, proceeded instantly against them and stripped them of all their possessions. Passages like these add another element of interest to the work and raise a hope that a closer enquiry is likely to be still more fruitful.

*Sources of information on Guru Govind Singh and  
the historical value of the Vicitra Nāṭak*

The *Vicitra Nāṭak* very early attracted the attention of modern scholars and more than hundred years ago Malcolm brought it to light and incorporated English translations of several important extracts from the work in his *Sketch of the Sikhs*, though, as Cunningham says, 'his own general narrative of the events is obviously contradictory and inaccurate.'<sup>1</sup> Almost every subsequent writer has referred to the work and utilised it, though some have been sceptical as to its historical value. According to Malcolm 'the work is more calculated to inflame the courage of his followers than to convey correct information of actual events'<sup>2</sup> and the learned author adds that the Guru's account of the adventures against Husain Khan is given 'in a style sufficiently inflated for the wars of the demons and angels.'<sup>3</sup> 'The Guru's object,' writes Dr. Narang, 'was to rouse the military ardour of his followers rather than record history.'<sup>4</sup> Macauliffe says, 'at that time it was the custom to recite on the eve of battle the praises and warlike deeds of the brave, so that the hearts even of cowards might be inspired with eagerness for the fray.' This was the object that led Guru Gobind Singh to translate the tenth canto of the *Bhāgavat* in which are recounted the chivalrous exploits of Kṛṣṇa.' 'I have rendered into the vulgar dialect the tenth chapter of the *Bhāgavat*,' says the Guru, 'with no other object than to inspire ardour for religious warfare,' and the praises of Caṇḍī were specially translated that 'they might be chanted

1 Cunningham's *History of the Sikhs* (Garrett's Edition)

2 Malcolm, *ibid.*, p. 54. 3 *Ibid.*, p. 59, fn. 4 Narang, *ibid.*, p. 91, fn.



for warlike purposes.’<sup>1</sup> Though it is nowhere stated explicitly, still it seems probable from the character of the descriptions, that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* was also written *partly* for the same purpose. I say *partly* advisedly, for the main object of the Guru in writing this work was undoubtedly the presentation of his mission—establishing true religion as the chosen instrument of God.

But that does not prove that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* can be of no historical use. The descriptions of the battles may be exaggerated and inflated but there remain many other things besides. The general sequence of events, the causes and the main incidents of the battles, the combatants that participated in them, and similar other matters are perhaps more important for our purposes, and it is with regard to these that the *Vicitra Nāṭak* proves to be of invaluable assistance. A rapid survey of our sources of information on the life of Guru Govind Singh and the general confusion that prevails in the modern works on Sikh history would, we hope, make our position clear.

Besides the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, the two other works, which are generally relied upon for the history of Guru Govind Singh, are the *Gur Vilās* of Bhāi Sukhā Singh and the *Sūraj Prakāś* of Bhāi Santokh Singh. ‘Bhāi Sukhā Singh was born in A. D. 1766 in Ānandapur, where Guru Govind Singh long had his residence. He became a pupil of Bhāis Bhagwan Singh and Thākur Singh, and was subsequently a *jñānī* or expounder of the *Granth Sāhib* at Keshgarh where the tenth Guru first administered his baptism.’<sup>2</sup> Sukhā Singh lived and worked in the very tract which had been the centre of Guru Govind Singh’s activities and though he completed his work about ninety years after the death of the tenth Guru, it seems probable that he had opportunities of ascertaining the facts that he narrated. At any rate, the *Guru Vilās* must be regarded as extremely useful as

1 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, V. p. 83. 2 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, V. p. 1 fn.

it is the earliest detailed account of the life of Guru Govind Singh that has come down to us.

But to the orthodox Sikh the most authoritative of all the works about their Gurus is the *Sūraj Prakāś* of Bhāi Santokh Singh. Macauliffe's opinion of the work, however, is extremely unfavourable. Besides the fact that the work was completed so late as 1843, exception has been taken even to the mentality of the author himself. The learned author of the *Sikh Religion* says that from his early education and environment Bhāi Santokh Singh was largely tinged with Hinduism. It is extremely doubtful whether he had any reliable authority before him and his statements cannot often be accepted as even an approach to history. Macauliffe takes particular exception to numerous stories of indifferent merit sometimes discreditable to the Gurus and their systems that Bhāi Santokh Singh incorporates in his work, and suggests that most of them had been invented by the author himself.<sup>1</sup> These remarks might be a bit too hard but they show how desperate our position is.

The other Gurumukhi records are still less reliable. We come next to the *Sau Sākhi*, and the *Sākhi Book* translated by Sirdar Āttar Singh of Bhadāour. Macauliffe says, 'There is a book called *Sau Sākhi* which professes to be a conversation between Sāhib Singh and Gurbux Singh on the sayings and doings of the tenth Guru.....It is relied on by the Kukās as the main authority for their heresy. There, however, appears nothing to establish its authenticity.'<sup>2</sup> We have not been able to procure a copy of this book. It is, however, interesting to note that the *Sākhi Book* translated by Sirdar Āttar Singh is also said to have been written by Sāhib Singh on the basis of what he heard from Gurbux Singh, one of the immediate disciples of Guru Govind Singh

1 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, i, Introduction, p. lxvii.

2 Macauliffe, *ibid.*, v, p. i fn.



and a lineal descendant of Bhāi Budha.<sup>1</sup> It is clear that the original of Sirdar Āttar Singh's translation cannot be the same as the *Sau Sākhi* but it is evident that a close connection between the two exists. 'Santokh Singh also sometimes gives Bhāi Gurbux Singh's communication to Sāhib Singh as the basis of his history of the Gurus' and it may not be improbable that this fact was seized upon by later writers who, in order to gain credence for their narratives, passed their own works in the name of Sahib Singh. That this is the case with Sirdar Āttar Singh's *Sākhi Book* is almost certain. The translator is inclined to place the composition of the work near about 1834<sup>2</sup> but there is clear internal evidence that it is much later. Many things are referred to in the form of prophecies and there cannot possibly be any doubt that the book was written even after the Mutiny. The *Sākhi Book*, therefore, is not of much historical value and the same may be said of Sirdar Āttar Singh's translation of the *Sākhi Nāmā*.

Lastly, we have got to consider the *Panth Prakāś* and the *Itihās Guru Khālsā*. The latter is a recent treatise by Sādhu Govind Singh of Benares. The *Panth Prakāś* is based on older Gurumukhi works and is perhaps an attempt to recount the story of the Gurus from the point of view of a reawakened Sikh. Dr. Narang uses this work freely in his '*Transformation of Sikhism*' but it is our opinion that as the book was written so late as 1880, it must yield in authority to the earlier records whenever there is any attempt in it to strike a new path. But the *Panth Prakāś*, in one sense, is very useful as it is practically an abridged compilation of the more ponderous volumes on the Sikh Gurus.

This fairly exhausts the Gurumukhi materials we have on Guru Govind Singh, for more recent works like the *Sikkhan de Raj di Bikhiā* or the *Tawarikh Guru Khālsā* may safely be ignored. As far as we are aware, no Persian document of

1 *Sākhi Book* (Sirdar Āttar Singh's Translation), p. I.

2 *Ibid.*, Preface, p. vii.

importance, which throws light on the early adventures of Guru Govind Singh, has yet been discovered but there exist several works in English which deserve a brief notice. The two earliest are Browne's *India Tract* and Forster's *Travels* but the accounts given are obviously confused, Malcolm's *Sketch of the Sikhs* does not improve our position much. Leaving aside the more comprehensive volumes on Sikh history, we come to the introductory essays in Trumpp's *Ādi Granth* and Macauliffe's account of Guru Govind Singh given in the fifth volume of his famous work on Sikh religion. The value of Trumpp's remarks is greatly weakened by his obvious prejudice against the Sikhs but this can on no account be said of Macauliffe whose object throughout has been to present the orthodox Sikh view-point. I may as well mention here that there is a work in Bengali, viz., the *Life of Guru Govind Singh* by Babu Tinkāḍi Banerjee, which is also likely to be of some assistance. The book is based almost entirely on the *Sūraj Prakāś* and with due caution may very well be used as a source book.

We would conclude by mentioning another very interesting work, viz., the *Bilaspur Banswara*, compiled under the direct supervision of the late Rājā Hirā Cānd. 'It was drawn up by men of learning in the State, who were given access to such family and State records as existed, and though no doubt the earlier chapters contain more mythology than historical fact, the work is both useful and interesting<sup>1</sup>. Although this book does not give us any new facts, it supplies us with a very important date, which, in the present shifty and uncertain state of Sikh chronology, cannot be too highly estimated. We are inclined to believe that if similar works existed about the various other Hill States with which Guru Govind Singh had dealings in peace and war, our task might have become easier.

We are now in a position to go back to the question with which we started, viz., the historical value of the *Vicitra*

1 *Simla Hill States Gazetteer, Bilaspur State*, p. 4.



*Nāṭak*. It appears that the historical portion of this work is the only contemporary account of the early adventures of Guru Govind Singh and the next record is about a century later. The Guru's descriptions might be inflated and all his details might be 'saturated with the spirit of Hindu mythology' but it has to be remembered that in the later works as well, common historical events are very often almost inextricably mixed up with religious myths and legends; moreover, it is significant that almost all the later works, notably the *Gur Bilās* corroborate the *Vicitra Nāṭak*, though they add many details and supply some missing links that enable us to follow more clearly the fragmentary account of the Guru. And when we examine the confusion among modern writers, the need for more closely studying the only contemporary narrative, however limited it may be in its usefulness, becomes evident. One single instance, I hope, would make my point clear. With regard to the first battle of Guru Govind Singh, Cunningham says that it was a mere local skirmish against the chief of Nahan<sup>1</sup>. According to Irvine 'his first campaign was made as the ally of one hill Rājā, Bhīm Cānd of Nadon against another the Rājā of Jammu, who had been incited by Miyan Khan the Moghul to make an attack on his neighbour'<sup>2</sup>. While Narang writes that the Rājās had made a grand alliance against the Guru and the parties met at Bhangani where the Guru's first battle was fought and won<sup>3</sup>. On these points the testimony of the *Vicitra Nāṭak* is almost invaluable, and our regret is not that the Guru's account is inflated and animated but that he has not left a similar record of his later exploits.

( *To be continued* )

INDUBHUSHAN BANERJI

1 Cunningham, *ibid*. 2 Irvine's *Later Moghuls*.

3 Narang, *ibid*, pp. 89-90

## Bengal School of Art

### *Origin and Varieties of Indian Art*

Art is idealistic in India. From pre-historic times idealistic India developed her Art. It influenced the national life of the people. In the earliest stage of human civilization, protection of self and preservation of racial seeds are the greatest pursuits of mankind ; then comes the protection of society and religion ; and last of all, prevails the culture of Art for the manifestation of inward bliss and mental pleasures. India has never been satisfied with 'little,' her achievements have always been the greatest in all her undertakings. The number of her arts by the gradual process of ramification ran up from 64 to 582.

India is spiritualistic and its spirituality is the underlying cause of its art-culture. As to please the gods the Indian people developed their music, so to illustrate the attributes of their divinities they had recourse to painting and sculpture. And to enshrine their metallic and lithic images they eventually developed their architecture. Sculpture and Architecture are inter-related and they grew up side by side. Under the common name of *Vāstu-Vidyā* or architecture, the Aryans of India dealt with all other branches of Art.

### *Teachers of Art and their Works*

As there were 20 preachers of the Codes of Law in Vedic India, so there were no less than 18 teachers of the Science of Art. The names of these teachers, as given in the *Matsya Purāṇa*, are :—Bṛgu, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Viśvakarman, Maya, Nārada, Nagnajit, Viśālākṣa, Purandara, Brahmā, Kumāra, Nandiśa, Śaunaka, Garga, Vāsudeva, Niruddha, Śukra and Brhaspati. Many of them were celebrated *ṛsis* or *munis*. We still worship Viśvakarman and Maya. It is doubtful whether Viśvakarman was the name of a person or a mere title. In the 6th century A. D., Varāha Mihira, while



compiling his *Br̥hat Samhitā*, took his lessons from the work of Garga and others. Besides these 18, there were other teachers of *Śilpa Śāstras*, which, according to some, were numbered 64.

In Northern India, on account of frequent foreign invasions and revolutions, many works on Indian Art have been lost. Some splendid specimens of ancient Art and Mss. on the Science are still to be found in Southern India. About a century ago, a talented Paṇḍit of Tanjore, Rām Rāj, collected the mss. of *Mānasāra*, *Mayamata*, *Kāśyapa*, *Vaikhānasa*, *Sakalādhikara*, *Viśvakarmya*, *Sanatkumara*, *Sārasvatyam*, *Pāñcarātra* and other works of Art and the accomplished Paṇḍit in his *Essay on Indian Architecture* dealt with the first four and specially *Mānasāra*. Of these four, the authors are known from the names except in the case of *Mānasāra* which is said to have been the work of Agastya, the pioneer of Aryan civilization in the South. These works belong mostly to the Deccan where great temples were built according to the canons laid down in the mss. Though there may not be found *Vimāna* or *Gopuram* in other parts of India, the principles are the same everywhere in the construction of pillars, pedestals, and arches. Being deeply absorbed in their culture of Art, the ancient Hindus evolved a sound and original system of their own, which prevailed all over the country, and "this Indian Art," as Mr. Havell says, "is still a living thing with vast potentialities."

#### *History of Art up to the 7th century A. D.*

"Hindu Art is the real Indian Art." It received a great impetus from Jainism and Buddhism, specially from the time of Asoka in the 3rd century B. C. There might have been foreign influences when Buddhistic India came into contact with outside countries. But India assimilated all that she received and got nourishment from the culture of many nations among which she preached her religion and spread her culture and civilization. She created a greater India all her own and infused everywhere, a new spirit

which cannot but be characterised as original. Modern history of art begins with Asoka. His capital at Pāṭaliputra became a great centre of art-culture, from which Bengal got its first impulse. It is doubtful whether the Græco-Bactrian art of Gandhāra ever reached Bengal after passing through Magadha. The start that was given by Asoka was stopped or retarded for several centuries on account of political changes. There was no doubt a revival of Art and Literature during the reign of the Gupta Vikramādityas, but a definite growth of Art is scarcely perceptible even when all Northern India came under the mighty rule of king Harṣa in the 7th century A. D. This monarch was a great lover of learning and literature, himself a poet of no mean repute, and his patronage of the Buddhistic University of Nālandā went a great way to make it a unique international centre of education in the world. Though his court-poet Bāṇabhaṭṭa states that a group of skilled painters painted at the time auspicious scenes, the traces of these artistic products are now lost to us through the iconoclastic spirit of the early Moslem invaders. But the condition was quite otherwise in the South, where Harṣa's great rival, king Pulakesin II of the Cālukya dynasty was reigning. Under his patronage the best fresco-paintings of the caves of Ajanta were nicely executed. Though Harṣa's was presumably an age of painting, it cannot be said that sculpture and architecture were neglected, for how then could the statements of the great Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang regarding the extensive educational buildings and splendid monasteries of Nālandā be justified? Some beautiful metallic and stone images recently discovered by the excavation at Nālandā serve as a link between the growth of sculpture in the Gupta period and the reign of the Pāla kings of Magadha and Bengal. The stream of art-culture, which flowed through Magadha in the 8th century A. D., assumed a new character in Bengal and a *New School of Art* was the result. Gradually during the 800 years of the rule of the Pāla, Sena, and Pathan kings of Bengal, three different stages of



the Bengal Art were noticeable—Buddhist, Hindu, and Islamic—according to the character of the religious persuasions of the reigning monarchs. We propose to take a brief chronological view of these three aspects of the growth and progress of the Bengal School of Art as a distinct school of Indian Art.

*Art-culture under the Pāla kings of Bengal*

As soon as king Harṣa died, Northern India was once again in the midst of anarchy and misrule. But a great change took place before the close of a century, when the harrassed people of Bengal in order 'to escape from anarchy' elected Gopāla Deva, the son of a successful soldier, as their king in the middle of the 8th century A. D.<sup>1</sup> Gopāla was followed by 17 other kings of the Pāla dynasty reigning from 750 to 1198 A. D. Gopāla Deva ushered in a new era of good government by establishing peace and tranquillity in the country. These Pāla kings were almost all Buddhists, and under the balmy shade of their benign rule, there dawned a Renaissance of Art, which reached a culminating point during the protracted reigns of the 2nd and 3rd kings of the line—Dharmapāla and Devapāla, the son and grandson of Gopāla Deva. These two kings are the real founders of the greatness of their dynasty. They conquered far and wide and attained to the sovereignty of nearly the whole of Northern India. The period of one hundred years during which they ruled (780—892 A. D.) may be said to be an epoch of great development of Art in Madhyadeśa. Among the many valuable finds of the Nālandā excavation, there has been discovered a copper-plate inscription, which refers to the establishment of a monastery at Nālandā by the king of Java and this was

1 Varendra or North Bengal was the original home of the Pāla kings. Gopāla was elected for the throne in Gauḍa or Varendra kingdom. Magadha and Mithilā were then included in the kingdom of Gauḍa, to get the sovereignty of which, Gopāla conquered Magadha and established a capital at the city of Bihar near modern Patna.

done with the express permission of the reigning monarch Devapāla. In the Viradeva inscription of Ghoshpara, Devapāla has been styled the king of the world. In this regime of extraordinary brilliancy, the culture of art in the country rose to its zenith.

Taranath, a Tibetan Lama, wrote in 1608 A. D., a history of Buddhism of which the last chapter gives us many important points with regard to the art-history of India. I am quoting a passage from the translation of the chapter: "In the time of the kings Devapāla and Śrīmanta Śarmapāla, there lived in Varendra (Northern Bengal) an exceedingly skilful artist named Dhīman, whose son was Bitpāla; both of them produced many works in cast-metal as well as sculptures and paintings, which resembled the works of the Nāgas. The father and son gave rise to distinct schools; as the son lived in Bengal, the cast-images of the gods he produced, were of the *Eastern Style*, whatever might be the birthplace of their actual designers. In painting the followers of the father were called the *Eastern School*, those of the son, as they were most numerous in Magadha, were called the followers of the *Madhyadeśa School* of Painting. In Nepal, the earlier school of art resembled the old *Western School*; but in course of time was formed a Nepalese school which in painting and casting resembled the eastern types. The latest artists have no special character."

So we see that both the father and the son, Dhīman and Bitpāla, were skilled alike in painting, sculpture, and bronze-founding. Dhīman was the head of the eastern school of painters, while his son Bitpāla, who lived in Bengal, was the head of the eastern school of bronze-casting. If we investigate the sculptures in Bengal and Behar, and even in Orissa to which Pāla-rule never extended, we may be able to identify the works of Dhīman and his son.

This culture was a little retarded after Devapāla but in the reign of Mahīpāla I in the latter part of the 10th century A. D., Sthirapāla and Vasantapāla, two younger



brothers of Mahīpāla I went to Sarnath and repaired the Dharmarājika Mahāvihāra of Asoka and the capital of the newly discovered Asokan pillar and also erected a Gandhakuṭī. Mahīpāla himself built up the temples of Navadurgā at Benares. I am just annexing a list of some significant dated images of the Pāla period, found here and there, which will give an idea of the development of art, specially of lithic and metallic sculptures in Bengal and Behar.

*Specimens of the Pāla Art*

1. Three stone images of *Viṣṇu* found near the Mahābodhi temple of Bodhgayā, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum, with an inscription on the left side, from which it is known that a sculptor named Keśava placed the image of the four-headed Mahādeva near the Mahābodhi tree in the 26th year of the reign of Dharmapāla Deva.

2. Two stone images of *Buddha*, found at Uddanapur, the modern Bihar town in the Patna District, dedicated by an inscription in the pedestal of each of the images, from which it is known that they were set up by Purna Das a Buddhist monk of Sindh at Uddanapur Mahāvihāra in the 3rd year of the reign of Vighrapāla I (or Surapāla I).

3. A bronze image of Pārvatī found at Uddanapur; from the inscription at the back it is known that the image was dedicated by a merchant named Uchpatra Thākura in the Uddanapur Mahāvihāra in the 54th year of Nārāyaṇapāla Deva.

4. A stone image of goddess *Vaṅīśvarī* discovered in the ruins of Nālandā. From the inscription on its pedestal which has been perfectly deciphered, it is known that the image was dedicated in the 1st year of Gopāla Deva II.

5. Five metal images of *Viṣṇu* discovered near Sahebgunj in the Gaibanda sub-division of the Rungpur district in Bengal, two of which are being locally worshipped and three have been brought to the Calcutta Museum. Though there is no inscription to date the images, Dr. Spooner of the Archaeological Department has reasons to hold that they are

associated with the dynasty of the Pālas of the 10th century<sup>1</sup>. These images have resemblance to a statue of Viṣṇu of the Mathura Museum<sup>2</sup>.

6. A stone image of *Buddha* discovered amidst the ruins of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgaya, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum, dedicated with an inscription by a person named Śakrasena during the reign of Gopāla Deva II, no year being mentioned.

7. A stone image of *Viṣṇu*, discovered at Baghaura village in the Tippera District, dedicated with an inscription on its pedestal, which shows that a Vaiṣṇava merchant named Lokadatta established the image in the 3rd year of Mahīpāla I.

8. A stone image of *Buddha* on a door-frame, found in the ruins of Nālandā, now preserved in the Calcutta Museum. The inscription under the feet of the image records that one Bālāditya erected a temple and incised the inscription in the 11th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I (973-1026 A. D.).

9. A colossal image of *Buddha* at Tetrawan village, six miles from Bihar town in the Patna District, dedicated with an inscription which gives the name of Mahīpāla I.

10. An image of *Buddha* discovered at Sarnath, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum, dedicated with an inscription which shows that it was set up by the order of Mahīpāla Deva in 1083 (S. E.) or 1026 A.D.

11. Several bronze images discovered at Imadpur village in the District of Muzaffarpore with inscriptions which declare that they were dedicated in the 48th year of the reign of Mahīpāla I.

12. A stone image of *Buddha* in the attitude of touching the earth, now placed in a small shrine of Bodhgaya with inscription on the pedestal giving the 11th year of king Mahīpāla I.

<sup>1</sup> *Archæological Survey Report*, 1911-12, p. 153.

<sup>2</sup> V. A Smith's *History of Fine Art*, p. 207.



13. A bronze image of *Viṣṇu*, found at Sāgardighi in the Murshidabad District, near the great *Dighi* or tank excavated by Mahīpāla I. It is a fine specimen of art identifying Bitpāla's hand.

14. A stone image of twelve-armed *Viṣṇu* or a Buddhist saint of the Tāntrika order, found at the ancient Mahīpāla city in the Murshidabad District, which was one of the provincial capitals of Mahīpāla I. The image is preserved in the Calcutta Museum.

15. A stone image of *Buddha* found at Bihar in the Patna District and preserved in the Calcutta Museum. It was dedicated with an inscription by one Dehek, son of Suvarṇakara Sāhā in the 13th year of the reign of Vighrahapāla III (1045-58 A. D.).

16. Two *līṅga* images of *Śiva* with an inscription plate, now seen at the Akṣayavāṭa tree at Gaya. From the inscription it is known that one Viśvāditya erected two temples for the *līṅgas* in the 5th year of Vighrahapāla Deva III.

17. A stone image of *Tārā* discovered at the Tetrawan village in the Patna District, preserved in the Calcutta Museum, with an inscription recording the dedication of the image by a certain Bhaṭṭa Ichra in the 2nd year of the reign of Rāmapāla, son of Vighrahapāla III.

18. A stone image of *Bodhisattva Padmapāṇi*, discovered at Chandimau village in the Bihar subdivision of the Patna District and now preserved in the Calcutta Museum. From the inscription on its pedestal it is known that it was dedicated by a merchant named Sādhuharaṇ in the 42nd year of Rāmapāla. (*Memoirs of Asiatic Society*, vol. v, pp. 93-4).

19. A stone stèle of *Buddha* or group of images from the scenes of Buddha's life, exquisitely finished in the best style possible, now found at Sivabāri village in the Bagerhat subdivision of the Khulna District presumably identifying the workmanship of Dhīman and his famous school of the Pāla Art in Magadha. (Fully described in my *History of Jessore and Khulna*, vol. I, pp. 205-12).

20. A similar stone stèle of *Buddha*, preserved in the Calcutta Museum (Br. 5. Cat. II, p. 80), belonging to the ancient school of Pāla art in Magadha.

It is evident from these specimens how the Pāla kings of Bengal were great patrons of Art and were directly or indirectly responsible for the installation of various images in their kingdom, most of them having been found at or near their capital cities. Most of these images were of Buddha but those of *Viṣṇu* were not inconsiderable. There were also images of Tārā, Vāgiśvarī, Pārvatī, and other Tāntrika deities. The metallic images were generally found to be of *Viṣṇu*. It may be surmised that Dhīman was himself a Buddhist and lived in Magadha, while his son Bitpāla being a Hindu did not leave Varendra. These skilled artists and their disciples realizing a true aspect of beauty from a study of nature, chiselled out their images from hard stone or cast metals with a rare imaginative power and masterful vigour. They clothed their ideals of divine form with an awe-inspiring dignity and calm solemnity, and there flashed such divine looks in their beaming eyes and eternal smiles in their lips and cheeks as were never dimmed even when buried in ruins for a thousand years.

The style of the two master artists Dhīman and Bitpāla, as Taranath clearly points out, influenced the neighbouring kingdoms. Nepal founded a school of her own in painting and bronze-casting based on the model of the Eastern school of the Pāla regime. The beautiful Nepalese images of Tārā, Mañjuśrī, Maitreya, and Trimūrti (Buddhist Triad) in cast-copper, are examples of this influence. (Vide plates x, xvi, xviii, and xix of Havell's *Indian sculpture and Painting*). The plastic art of Nepal is represented by the images of bronze and copper and not by sculptures in stone.

The Indian culture reached Nepal first and then it was borrowed by the Tibetans. In the reign of their king, Srong-tsan-Gampo, Buddhism was introduced in Tibet with the help of Indian scholars. There was revival of this cult in



Tibet, when, during the reign of the Pāla king, Mahipāla I, Buddhist preachers like Paṇḍit Dharmapāla and others were invited to go to Tibet in 1013 A. D. and to restore the old religion. A subsequent mission under Paṇḍit Dīpaṅkara, Śrījñāna, Atīśa from the Vikramaśīlā monastery was sent to Tibet in 1042 A. D. during the reign of Mahipāla's successor Nayapāla and Tibetan Buddhism was firmly established. The Tibetan people had then already introduced the Nepalese art based on the Eastern School and this got an impetus from the religious missions of the later Pāla kings. This school of Tibet may be called the *Nepal-Tibetan Branch School of the Pāla Art*. The artists of Tibet were generally Lamas and their outputs were highly realistic images of Lamas and Buddhist saints.

From Taranath we also know that a similar introduction of the *Pāla School of Art* in Kashmir took place when a certain Hāsuraśya (presumably Haṃsarāj, the minister of Queen Didda of Kashmir) founded the *Kashmir School* in the 10th century A. D. The same school of Art seems to have influenced Burma and the Southern countries. In the South, three artists named Jaya, Parājaya and Vijaya had a large number of followers. The concluding remarks of the same Art-historian regarding the gradual decadence of the influence of the Pāla school of Art are important :—"Whenever Buddhism prevailed, skilful religious artists were found, but as Islam advanced they disappeared. When orthodox Hinduism got the upper hand, unskilful images came to the front."

We have already said that Gopāla Deva, the founder of the Pāla dynasty established his capital at Uddanḍapur, the modern town of Bihar in the Patna district. This capital was provided with a grand monastery, mistaken for fort when it was captured by the Turki invader, Muhammad Bakhtiyar Khilji in 1197 A. D. The monastery was destroyed and the monks were massacred. Those who survived fled to Tibet, Nepal, and the South. "Buddhism in Magadha never recovered from this blow ; it lingered in obscurity for a while

and then vanished."<sup>1</sup> And with this stagnation of religion, demolition of temples, destruction or disappearance of images that followed in the wake of iconoclastic conquest vanished the schools of the Pāla Art, which had thoroughly influenced the short rule of the Sen Kings of Bengal, who were more busy with the social problems than with the Art-specimens of religious devotion.

( *To be continued* )

SATISCHANDRA MITRA

### Rāma Rāya, Regent of Vijayanagara (1542-1565)

One of the most interesting rulers in the history of Vijayanagara is Rāma Rāya, the Regent of Sadāśiva Rāya. This shrewd politician had saved the Empire from the chaos created by Salakam Timma Rāju after the death of the young monarch Venkaṭadri. During his regency, he kept the Empire as illustrious as it had been during the time of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya and Acyuta Rāya. His indisputable qualities as a statesman, combined with his victorious campaigns as a warrior, place him among the great Hindu rulers of India.

We shall study in this paper the character of his regency, putting aside both his administration of the Empire and his foreign policy. Our only purpose is to ascertain what kind of relations existed between Rāma Rāya and his sovereign.

When Sadāśiva was proclaimed Emperor of Vijayanagara he was unfit on account of his age to manage the State affairs. Hence the anonymous chronicler of Golkonda states that

1 Ency. Brit. (11th ed.), vol iii, p. 655.



Rāma Rāya assumed the office of Protector<sup>1</sup>. The Muhammadan writer in announcing the assumption of power by the Minister Rāma Rāya describes him as Regent of the puppet Sadāśiva. Accordingly, all power was vested in Rāma Rāya, as the *Cikkadevarāya Vaṃśāvali* recorded some years later<sup>2</sup>. The only fact, on which all the authors who have written on Sadāśiva's reign agree, is the supreme power wielded by the fortunate Minister who was helped by his two brothers. But the aforesaid chronicler of Golkonda suggests at least two different stages in his period of governing; "Rāmraj," he states, "first assumed the office of Protector, and subsequently usurped the throne"<sup>3</sup>. Is this usurpation of the throne supported by other documents? I have closely examined the inscriptions and grants of Sadāśiva's reign, and discern not two but three different stages in the regency of Rāma Rāya.

During the first period Rāma Rāya is nothing but the Regent on behalf of his Sovereign; even the influence of Sadāśiva's will over his Regent may occasionally be detected through some of the earlier inscriptions. In one of 1546 we read that Sadāśiva "gave orders to Rāma Rāya, saying" etc. and then Rāma Rāya makes a grant according to the king's orders<sup>4</sup>. The same is shown by another inscription of 1547-8, at Podili, Nellore District, in which Sadāśiva is stated to rule Vijayanagara "under the orders of Śrīman-Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Aliyagāmarama Rājayyadeva Mahārajalungaru who bears the burden of the kingdom"<sup>5</sup>. Finally in 1549 "on the orders of Sadāśiva", Rāma Rāya issued an edict for the barbers of Udayagiri<sup>6</sup>.

1 Briggs, *Ferishta*, III. p. 381.

2 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources of Vijayanagara History*, p. 302.

3 *Ferishta*, I. c.

4 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Hk., 110.

5 Butterworth, *Inscriptions in the Nellore District*, III, p. 1195-7.

6 Rangacharya, *Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency*, II, p.

The titles given to Rāma Rāya at this time are 'Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara', 'minister'<sup>1</sup>, 'agent of Sadāśiva'<sup>2</sup> 'agent for the affairs of Sadāśiva's kingdom'<sup>3</sup> or at most 'ruler of the great Kārṇāṭa kingdom'<sup>4</sup>. No other trace of higher authority may be gathered from the records of the first year of his governorship.

In the meanwhile, Sadāśiva resided in the capital as a general rule. This is frequently stated in the inscriptions<sup>5</sup>. In 1548 he made the Kanuma grant and in 1551 the Bevinahalli grant in the vicinity of the god Viṭṭhaleśvara, on the banks of the Tungabhadra river, i.e. in Vijayanagara<sup>6</sup>.

From the very beginning, the wise activity of the Regent in conducting the state affairs surpassed all expectations. A grant of Sadāśiva of 1558 exalts the virtues of Rāma Rāya as a ruler saying that he was "possessed of valour, liberality and mercy"<sup>7</sup>; moreover he is noted to be "versed in politics"<sup>8</sup>, or "well-versed in politics"<sup>9</sup>, "skilled in politics"<sup>10</sup>, "conversant with politics"<sup>11</sup>, and to have "studied politics"<sup>12</sup>. One of the prudent steps he took in connection with the rule of the vast empire was the division of responsibility. Couto relates that he at once secured the co-operation in his ministership of his two brothers: the administration of justice was granted to Tirumala, while Venkaṭādri took over finance<sup>13</sup>. Several inscriptions justify this statement. Early in 1545, according to an inscription of Hampi, the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Tirumalarāyadeva Mahāārāsu granted to some person the village of

1 472 of 1906; 5 of 1900.

2 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Tp, 126; Rangacharya, o. c., II, pp. 1073, 199.

3 *Ep. Carn.*, VI, Tk, 13.

4 Sadāśiva's grant, *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Ng, 58.

5 Butterworth, o. c., II, pp. 921-2.

6 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 353, v. 43; p. 231, vv. 43-45.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, IX, Cp, 186.

8 Mangalampad grant of Venkata II, Butterworth, o. c., I, p. 29.

9 Dalavay Agrahāram plates of Venkata I, *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 186, vv. 13-40.

10 *Ep. Carn.*, X, Mg, 60.

11 Kuniyur plates of Venkata II, *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 252, v. 13.

12 *Ep. Carn.*, XII, Cy, 39.

13 Couto, *Decadas*, VI, p. 383.



Kotanahalli together with its hamlets<sup>1</sup>. In another inscription at Hampi, bearing the same date, mention is made of "Jaṅgāmāyya, the *dalavay* or general of Timmārāja, younger brother of Rāma Rāya"<sup>2</sup>.

As chief minister of the Regent, Tirumala was given the most important province of the Empire to rule ; this was Udayagiri, called the chief fortress under the royal throne of Vijayanagara<sup>3</sup>, owing to its proximity to the Muhammadan frontiers. Formerly it was almost always governed by princes of the Royal family as Viceroys, on behalf of the Emperor. In 1543 Tirumala was governor of Udayagiri<sup>4</sup>, and in 1551-2 we find him fulfilling the same office<sup>5</sup> ; however he did not stay at Udayagiri, because in the same year 1551, according to an inscription at Saṅgam, the Governor of Udayagiri was Civvakkaturi Bayaca Rājayya who ruled on behalf of Tirumala<sup>6</sup>. Was this the same Tirumala who was governor of Udayagiri in 1535-6 ?<sup>7</sup> His appointment was not due at that time to his brother, but either to Acyuta or to the ministers of the latter.

In spite of the great power which the governorship of Udayagiri naturally gave him, his subordination to Rāma Rāya was at this time exemplary : an inscription of Kalamalla records the remission of taxes on the barbers of this place by Tirumala, with the permission of Rāma Rāya<sup>8</sup>.

As to Venkaṭādri, the *Rāmarājīyam* of Venkayya mentions the town Kandanol, Karnul District, as the seat of his government<sup>9</sup>. Accordingly in 1547 he exempted the tax on the Brāhmaṇas in the villages of Kānāla<sup>10</sup>, Damagatla<sup>11</sup> and

1 *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39. 2 *Ibid.*

3 Butterworth, o. c., II, pp. 536, 542. 4 *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 242.

5 Butterworth, o. c., II, p. 867.

6 Rangacharya, o. c., II, p. 1113, 477.

7 *Ep. Carn.*, III, Sr, 95. 8 380 of 1904.

9 S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Sources*, p. 222.

10 Rangacharya, o. c., II, pp. 964, 532.

11 *Ibid.*, pp. 947, 395.

Bannūm<sup>1</sup>. These places are all situated in Karnul District. This was probably in the first stage of Rāma's governorship, for we find him governing the Chola country during the following one.

Rāma Rāya shortly after Sadāśiva's coronation showed his prudence as well as his decision in an event related by Correa. When going once against the Sultan of Bijapur, a number of captains and nobles, discontent with the Regent's rule, proposed to him to abdicate in order to proceed to a new election. Rāma Rāya apparently agreed and invited them to return to Vijayanagara where the election was to be made. Then he convoked them into the Royal Palace, which was secretly defended by his relations and adherents. When the rebel nobles were inside, all the gates to the palace were closed; the insurgent nobles were then caught by the partisans of Rāma Rāya. Many of the poor prisoners were slain; others suffered the amputation of their feet or the extraction of their eyes<sup>2</sup>.

After some years, probably shortly after the king was old enough to be capable of assuming the government of the Empire, Rāma Rāya put him in prison<sup>3</sup> and thus a new era was inaugurated. Frederick says that the three brothers were responsible for this, but Couto imputes the action to Rāma Rāya alone. Couto's statement seems to give foundation to the rebellion of Tirumala and Venkaṭādri to which reference will be made later. Sadāśiva's prison, according to Couto, was a strongly fortified tower, with iron doors and surrounded by sentries; his treatment nevertheless, while there, was such as befitted a king<sup>4</sup>.

1 Rangacharya, *o. c.*, II, pp. 945, 385.

2 Correa, *Lendas da Índia*, IV, p. 439.

3 Purchas *His Pilgrims*, X, p. 93; Gubernatis, *Storia dei Viaggiatori Italiani*, p. 289; Anquetil du Perron, *Des Recherches Historiques, Description Historique*, II, p. 165.

4 "E como era muito poderoso, e gran capitao metteo-se na Corte, e lancou mano do Rey meso, e o metteo em huma torre fortissima, com



Couto does not say where this tower was situated. Several inscriptions of the time affirm that Sadāśiva resided at Vijayanagara. But this is not a satisfactory proof, because even supposing he was imprisoned in Penukonda, his subjects could readily have been led to believe he was still in Vijayanagara. Nevertheless we are inclined to think he remained in his capital for the reason we shall now give and on account of the events subsequent to the disaster at Talikota. All the records say that Tirumala after the battle ran to Vijayanagara to fetch king Sadāśiva where he was 'kept prisoner', as Frederick states, and then fled with him to their final refuge.

Anquetil du Perron says that this *coup d'état* took place somewhere between 1550 and 1552, and since he subsequently states that Sadāśiva remained in this prison thirteen years<sup>1</sup> before the starting of the third stage of Rāma Rāya's government, we may suppose that the opening of the second was in 1550, and lasted until 1562 or 1563. The unfortunate sovereign was shown to his subjects only once a year<sup>2</sup>. This was the only occasion for them to realize that there was still in Vijayanagara, a representative of the old Tuluva Dynasty, seated on the jewelled throne. But, as a matter of fact, Sadāśiva was only the nominal ruler. He was no more than a mere tool in the hands of Rāma Rāya, who was practically the emperor of Vijayanagara.

During this second stage the inscriptions put the power of Rāma Rāya on an equality with that of Sadāśiva. In 1551 a private grant is made 'for the merit of Sadāśiva and Rāma

grandes vigias, e portas de ferro, aonde o teve em quanto viveo, como huma estatua com o nome so de Rey; mas com todas as despezas, gastos, e apparatus que pudera ter, se fora, e estivera livre". Couto, VI, p. 383. Anquetil du Perron l. c., after relating the imprisonment of the king says: C'est la conduite des Peschwahs de Ponin, a l'egard des descendants de Sevaji renfermes a Satara, et d'Heider Ali Khan envers le Roi de Maissour".

1 Anquetil du Perron, l. c.

2 Frederick, *Purchas*, o. c., p. 93.

Rāya<sup>1</sup>. Another inscription of Dasanḍoddi, dated 1554, states that "Badme Maluka Oḍeya granted one village which had been favoured to him by Sadāśiva and Rāma Rāya"<sup>2</sup>. The Bevinahalli grant of Sadāśiva (1551) gives both genealogies, that of Sadāśiva and that of Rāma Rāya, in detail<sup>3</sup>. This illustrates the importance of the powerful Regent. Three years later, in 1554-5, Maṅgala Timmoja Kondojugāru, having done service to Rāma Rāya and having made a request to the king, obtained a grant according to his petition<sup>4</sup>. In 1557 the same Maṅgala Timmoja made grant to the god Bhire in order that merit might accrue to Rāma Rāya<sup>5</sup>.

But, although the power of the Emperor and that of his Minister are on the same level, the influence of Sadāśiva is no longer felt. The only rulers of the Vijayanagara empire are three members of the Āraṇḍu family: Rāma Rāya and his two brothers. "They ruled at their pleasure as they liked", says Frederick<sup>6</sup>. Nevertheless Tirumala and Venkaṭādri rebelled against the authority of their brother in the beginning of this stage, say about 1551, presumably because they disliked Rāma Rāya's treatment of his legitimate sovereign. No other reason can be given for this disagreement between Rāma Rāya and his brother. Precisely one year before, 1549-50, Tirumala had requested and obtained from Sadāśiva the Mamidipunḍi grant<sup>7</sup>: his gratefulness towards the sovereign could not stand the audacity of his brother.

( *To be continued* )

H. HERAS

1 *Ep. Carn.*, IV, Gd, 54. 2 *M. A. D.*, 1920, p. 39.

3 *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 210. 4 Butterworth, *o. c.*, III, p. 1195-7.

5 *Ep. Carn.*, XI, Mk I. 6 Purchas, *o. c.*, p. 93.

7 Butterworth, *o. c.*, I, pp. 102, v. 62.



## Seniya Bimbisāra

Seniya Bimbisāra is justly entitled to a place in the front rank of the great rulers, not only of Magadha, but of India. No monarch endowed with so much vigour and ability appeared on the throne of Girivraja since the days of the legendary Jarāsandha, and few will dispute his claim to be regarded as the founder of that imperial power which in the time of the Nandas probably spread as far as the Godāvarī<sup>1</sup> and under the Mauryas dominated almost the whole of Non-Tamil India from the Hindukush to the Venkaṭa Hills. Unfortunately the history of this king is still obscure and even the name of his dynasty is not known for certain. No Bāṇa or Sandhyākara has left a faithful account of the king's pedigree and no Harisena or Ravikīrti has left a genuine record of his military exploits. A few facts regarding this monarch may, however, be gleaned from Buddhist literature, the credibility of which, in the present state of our knowledge, must remain an open question.

We have already stated that the very name of Bimbisāra's family is not known for certain. The old orthodox view based on Paurāṇic evidence is that Bimbisāra was a descendant of a king named Śiśu-nāga, and belonged to what is known as the Śaiśu-nāga dynasty. But this view has been combated by scholars like Geiger and Bhandarkar on the ground that the Pāli chronicles of Ceylon clearly distinguish the royal line of Bimbisāra from that of Śiśunāga, and represent the latter as a late successor, and not as an ancestor of the first named sovereign.

1 The extension of the Nanda Empire as far south as the Godāvarī appears probable from the evidence of the Hathigumpha Inscription and the existence on the Godāvarī of a city called "Nau Nand Dehra" (Nander ; Macauliffe's *Sikh Religion*, V, p. 236).

The inclusion of Bārāṇasī and Vaiśālī within Śīśunāga's dominions seems also to suggest that he came after Bimbisāra and his son Ajātaśatru who were the first to establish Magadhan authority in those regions, and thus tends to confirm the evidence of the chronicles. The Paurāṇic statement that Śīśunāga destroyed the power of the Pradyotas of Avanti, and the tradition recorded in the *Mālālaṅkāravatthu* that the city of Rājagṛha lost her rank of metropolis from his time, point to the same conclusion.

A welcome light on the problem of Bimbisāra's lineage comes from an unexpected quarter. The *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa, a contemporary of Kaniṣka, informs us that when "Śreṇya", the lord of the country of the Magadhas, visited Buddha on the Pāṇḍava Hill<sup>1</sup>, the latter addressed him as a scion of the *Haryaṅka Kula* (*Jātasyaharyaṅkakule viślāe*, xi. 2), the family whose ensign is *Hari*. Cowell takes the word *Hari* to mean "lion". But the word has also the sense of "snake" and the latter interpretation would be in keeping with the theory of Professor Bhandarkar who finds in the name of Nāga-Dāsaka, a descendant of Bimbisāra, proof of the fact that these kings belonged to the "Nāga" dynasty. Whatever be the right interpretation of the term "*Haryaṅka Kula*", it cannot be denied that it was the traditional name of Bimbisāra's dynasty in the first century of the Christian era, and, in the absence of earlier and more reliable evidence to the contrary, should be preferred to designations found in Paurāṇic chronicles of the Gupta period.

H. C. RAYCHAUDHURI

1 It is not altogether improbable that the name of the Hill is derived from the Pāṇḍavas who are known to have come to Girivraja in the time of the legendary king Jarāsandha.



## Sumerians in India

In my recent book on "The Phœnician Origin of the Britons, Scots and Anglo-Saxons", I have tried to establish by a mass of new historical evidence the unsuspected facts that the "Sumerians" were the long lost Early Aryans, in race, speech and script; that their chief sea-going and colonizing branches were the Bhārat Kuru-pañcāla or "Syrio-Phœnician" Kṣattriyas—the *Khattiya* of the older Pāli, and identical with the *Khatti* or "Hitt-ites" of Asia Minor, that they had established themselves in Mesopotamia at the head of the Persian Gulf by 3100 B. C. and that the Indo-Aryans who conquered, colonized and civilized India as well as the Western Aryans who colonized and civilized the Mediterranean, British Isles and North-Western Europe were these leading sea-going branches of the Sumerians.

These conclusions are now dramatically confirmed as regards India by the recent discovery of a large number of ancient seals inscribed with Sumerian writing and associated with buildings and cultural objects of the Sumerian and Phœnician type in the Indus Valley.

I was led to these discoveries, whilst in India during my search for the lost origin of the Home-land of the authors of Indo-Aryan civilization, and have spent the past years since my retirement in pursuing the clues and in establishing the discoveries. On analysing the Indo-Aryan civilization in regard to its culture, social structure, customs, folklore and religion, and the traditional topography and climate, of its ancestral homeland as described in the Vedas—descriptions wholly inapplicable to India apart from the Indus Valley—I was led by numerous clues to trace the Āryas back to Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia.

I then observed that the old ruling race of Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia, from immemorial time was the great

imperial people generally known as "Hitt-ites", but who called themselves "*Khatti*". And the early ruling race of Aryans who first conquered and civilized India called themselves *Khattiya* in the older Pāli, afterwards Sanskritized into "Kṣattriya". I further observed that these ancient Khatti (or Hitt-ites) also called themselves '*Ari*' or '*Arri*' with the meaning of "noble ones", which was thus literally identical in name and in meaning with the *Ariya* of the Pāli and the *Ārya* of the Sanskrit, from which our modern term "Aryan" is derived. And the civilization of this *Arri* or Aryan race of Khatti was essentially of the "Aryan" type.

The identity of these Khatti-Arri with the eastern branch of the Aryans is now apparent. The name *Khatti* has in the Khatti or "Hitt-ite" language the same radical meaning of "cut or ruler" as the Pāli "*Khattiya*" and the Sanskrit "Kṣattriya,"; and I observed that these Khatti and Phœnicians called themselves at times by the patronymic '*Barat*', just as did the "Bharat" Aryans of early India, who have aspirated the 'B'. And I then found that the Khatti language was essentially Aryan in its roots and structure, a fact which has since to some extent been remarked by Hronzy and others.

Turning to the traditional king-lists of the ancient Aryan kings preserved in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata I found that many of the names of these kings were substantially identical with the names of ancient Khatti kings as found on their still extant monuments and cuneiform documents of Asia Minor and Syria-Phœnicia.

On further scrutinizing the earlier dynasties of these Indian Epic king-lists I observed that several of the leading kings in these lists bore substantially the same names with the same records of achievements, and occurred in the same relative positions in the lists as several of the leading early kings of Mesopotamia—the so called "Sumers and Akkads"—as recorded in their still extant monuments and in the fragmentary ancient chronicles of that land dating back to the



fourth millennium B. C. Further examination fully confirmed this discovery and disclosed complete lists of Sumerian dynasties of kings bearing substantially the same names and in the same relative order as in Indian Epic king-lists. I further found that the leading dynasty of the early Sumerians at the seaport of Sirlapur or Lagosh on the Persian Gulf about 3100 B. C. bore the identical names and in the same relative order as the first *Pañcāla* dynasty of the Indian Epics ; and that these “*Pañcāla*” or “the able *Pañc*” were the world-famous Phœnicians, the *Panag*, *Panasa* or *Fenkha*, Syrian mariners of the ancient Egyptians, the *Phoinik*-es of the Greeks, and the *Phœnic*-es of the Romans and a people who, Herodotus tells us, were settled on the Persian coast before about 2500 B. C. when they founded Tyre in Syria-Phœnicia, the old Kuru-*pañcāla* land.

I further found that the Father God of these Sumerians and Phœnicians was called by them “Induru”, the “Indara” of the Khatti or Hittites, and was the source in both name and attributes of the *Indra* of the Indo-Aryans. And after over fifteen years’ devotion to the study of the Sumerian language and its script, I found that the Sumerian language was radically Aryan in its roots and structure, with identical word-forms and meanings as in Sanskrit and other members of the Aryan family of languages ; and the Sumerians were in race and speech Aryans, and were the long lost early Aryans, and that the Kuru-*pañcāla* Bharat Khattiya who first civilized, colonized and aryanized India were a leading branch of the Sumerians, just as were the western Barat Catti who first civilized and colonized Britain and gave it their patronymic of “Burat-ana” or Britain, and stamped their “Khatti” clan title on the coins of the pre-Roman period, and carved it on their pre-historic monuments of Britain. These discoveries, which I have recorded in considerable detail in my book, the greater portion of which is devoted to establishing the Sumerian origin of Indian civilization, language and religion, are now strikingly confirmed as regards India by the dis-

covery of the Sumerian seals of about 3000 B.C. and associated buildings in the Indus Valley.

L. A. WADDELL

### Some observations on Puṣyamitra and his Empire

It is related in Bāṇa's *Harṣa-carita* that the Maurya emperor Brhadratha was, while engaged in reviewing his army, murdered by his general Puṣpamitra<sup>1</sup>. This tradition finds a sort of corroboration in the accounts of the Purāṇas. Thus according to the *Viṣṇu* and *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇas*, Brhadratha is the last Maurya king, and *Vāyu* gives the name of the last Maurya in a slightly changed form as Brhadaśva, while all of them agree in naming as his immediate successor, Puṣpamitra or Puṣyamitra, the founder of the Śuṅga dynasty. Similar accounts of Puṣpamitra's succession to the imperial power of the Mauryas is also to be found in the Jaina tradition. From all these it has been generally accepted that Puṣyamitra established himself on the throne of Pāṭali-putra by killing his master, and founded the dynasty known as the Śuṅgas. I do not know on what authority Mm. Haraprasād Śāstrī has added the following details :—"At first he (Puṣyamitra) led the Maurya armies against the Greeks, who advanced year after year to the very heart of the Maurya empire. After a successful campaign he returned to Pāṭali-putra with his victorious army, and the feeble representative of Aśoka on the throne accorded him a fitting reception. A camp was formed outside the city and a review was held of

<sup>1</sup> The forms Puṣpamitra and Puṣyamitra are both correct. Cf. G. Bühler in *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. II, p. 362.



a large army. In the midst of the festivities an arrow struck the king on the forehead. The king expired instantly." (*JASB.*, 1910, p. 261).

There are some points which may be taken to signify that even before this tragic event, Puṣyamitra had long been *de facto*, if not *de jure*, king of Magadha. This seems to follow from the Jaina accounts of the chronology of the period as preserved by Merutuṅga in his *Therāvalī* (genealogical or succession-table of the kings of Ujjayinī). This work is written in the form of comments on some of the old *Gāthās* containing chronological and historical data. For our present purpose we need only quote the statement relating to Maurya dynasty. Says Merutuṅga, "Then (i. e. after the Nandas) the Mauryas ruled for 108 years. After the Mauryas, Puṣpamitra ruled for 30 years." The Purāṇas all agree in assigning a duration of 137 years to the Maurya dynasty. The Jaina tradition splits this up into two periods, and assigns the last period of 30 years to Puṣyamitra, rather than to the Mauryas. It must be remembered that the Jaina accounts of kings and dynasties relate to Avantī in very much the same way as the Imperial dynasties described in the Purāṇas relate to Magadha. It is natural to suppose therefore that Puṣyamitra had already exercised independent power in the west, although he did not throw off the mask in the capital, retaining a nominal allegiance to the titular emperor of Magadha. This assumption is strengthened by the statement in the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇas*, that Puṣyamitra ruled for 60 years. The sixty-year-rule of Puṣyamitra is in utter conflict with the general statement of all the Purāṇas regarding the duration of the dynasty which is stated "by *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa*, and by *Viṣṇu* generally, to be 112 years ; by 7 Mss. of *Bhāgavata* and one of *Viṣṇu*, 110 ; and by *Bhāgavata* generally 'over 100 years'<sup>1</sup>". The mistake may be explained away by supposing that the duration of the Śuṅga dynasty was counted from after the

1 Pargiter, *Dynasties*, p. 30.

murder of Br̥hadratha, but the reign of Puṣyamitra included the years in which he was *de facto* if not *de jure* king of Magadha. The 36 years assigned to Puṣyamitra in the *Matsya-purāṇa* may be taken to be the number of years he had actually ruled after murdering Br̥hadratha. I may refer also in this connection to the significant fact that in *Māla-nikāgnimitra*, Puṣyamitra is styled *Senāpati*<sup>1</sup> while his son is spoken of as king. Both Śaṅkar Pandurang Paṇḍit<sup>2</sup> and Wilson<sup>3</sup> have concluded from this that Puṣyamitra usurped the Maurya kingdom in favour of his son. Apart from the unnaturalness involved in the supposition, the theory is directly contradicted by the unanimous testimony of the Purāṇas that Puṣyamitra was the first king of the Śuṅga dynasty which was founded by him, and that he was succeeded by his son Agnimitra. Nay, even the drama itself bears testimony to the fact that Puṣyamitra himself was then ruling at Pāṭali-putra. For how else could he be initiated into the Aśvamedha sacrifice and send 100 royal princes with Vasumitra at their head to protect the horse? That this sacrifice was certainly not in favour of Agnimitra is quite clear from the expression “soham idānīm Aṃśumateva Sagarah̐ pautreṇa pratyāhr̥taśvo yakṣye” Thus Puṣyamitra, though really the king, styled himself *Senāpati*. This can only be explained by supposing that though king *de facto*, he had not yet become king *de jure*, and it may not unfairly be concluded that the Rājasūya sacrifice was instituted precisely with this end in view. The fact that Agnimitra assumes the title of king while his father is still a *Senāpati* presents greater difficulty. I can only suggest that in the last days of the Mauryas, Puṣyamitra had consolidated his power in the empire by managing to have provinces and kingdoms conferred upon himself and his rela-

1 Act V, passages 5, 118, 121 (Śaṅkar Pandurang Paṇḍit's edition).

2 *Ibid.*, Notes, p. 220.

3 “*Theatre of the Hindus*,” p. 348.

4 Canto V, passage 125.



tions, even while he remained in name the Commander-in-Chief of the Maurya king.

From all the facts mentioned above, it is not unreasonable to suppose that Puṣyamitra, the generalissimo of the empire, grew to be too powerful, and while nominally retaining allegiance to the Maurya empire, he and his sons managed to rule over different provinces and kingdoms subject to the empire. He himself however still retained the title of *Senāpāti*, till in an opportune moment he killed his master, and after celebrating an Aśvamedha sacrifice assumed the title and dignity of an Imperial autocrat. His son was already a king though at first subordinate to the Maurya emperor, and hence the curious anomaly of the titles we have noticed in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*.

( *To be continued* )

R. C. MAZUMDAR

## Politics and Political History in the Mahābhārata

A critical examination of the *Mahābhārata* shows that it is far from being homogeneous as regards its composition. It seems that the work grew out of an older nucleus, to which successive additions were made. Thus some chapters of the work are very old and undoubtedly belong to that very remote literary period, which saw the rise of the earliest Buddhist canonical literature. Other sections again seem from an examination of their contents to have existed during the 4th century B. C. if not earlier.

A large number of them records the social and political thoughts of the period preceding the age in which the great author of the *Arthaśāstra* compiled his treatises on the art

of government. Indeed we are often struck not only by the similarity of ideas, but by the method of enquiry, the way of enquiring into great social problems, and finally by the exact similarity in language. Many of the verses quoted in the *Arthasāstra* are found in the *Mahābhārata*.

While this is the case with a large number of sections, the major portions of the work appear to be of later date, as may be easily inferred from the evidence advanced to us. Words of foreign origin later on grafted into our vocabulary, names of foreign tribes, which invaded India from the 1st century B. C. to the 4th or 5th century A. D., occur in them. We may mention a few of these. Thus e. g. *Dīnara*—a word of Latin origin and most probably borrowed by the Hindus after their intercourse with the Græco-Roman world. Of the names of foreign tribes we have the *Hūnas*, *Yavanas*, *Śakas*, *Tuṣāras*, *Pāradas* etc.

Consequently it is very difficult to fix any date as to the composition of this work and the safest conclusion for us would be to hold that the *Mahābhārata* took centuries to be reduced to its present form. The period may be taken to extend from the 6th or 7th century B. C. to the 5th century A. D. The earliest part of the work is that dealing with the history of the great war and the circumstances leading to it. Tradition preserved in different localities or with different families was the main source of the material utilised.

As we have said, the *Mahābhārata* is regarded as an historical work and at the same time an encyclopædia of moral and political wisdom. As regards the historical value of the accounts in the *Mahābhārata* and of the age to which it refers, it is of great service to us in spite of the fact that certain chapters are very late and certain chapters show signs of subsequent handling and that the accounts in some of the chapters often contradict each other.

All these take away indeed much of its value, and bring in perplexities to the mind that ventures with its



help to penetrate the mist of ages, and to have a glimpse of a remote past of which every thing else is lost. In spite of these defects however they present us with something tangible as regards the history of the past. They give us an account of Northern India, its peoples, its ruling families, their wars, their political and social life, which cannot be found elsewhere.

This account of the great war and the events preceding it are based on traditions. We must utilize these traditions which present us with the account of the political condition of Northern India for yielding materials for the reconstruction of the history of the time.

Now the question arises, to which period the traditional account may be taken to refer. If we trace back the great names of the Mahābhārata we find them mentioned in works of the later Vedic period. In some cases they go earlier. Thus Devāpi and Śantanu are names occurring in the Rk hymns.

Dhṛtarāṣṭra is an historical personage and his name is mentioned in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Kṛṣṇa Devakīputra, who plays so prominent a part in the Epic, is a name that occurs in the *Chāndogya Upaniṣad* where he is described as a disciple of Ghora Āṅgīrasa. Arjuna, too, is mentioned both in the *Vājsaneyi Saṃhitā* and the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*. Janamejaya Pārīkṣita finds place both in the 11th and the 13th kāṇḍas of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* in connection with his Aśvamedha to expiate for brahmahatyā.

From all these we may infer that the account of the Mahābhārata refers to a portion of the later Vedic age. This view gets confirmation when we compare the social and political condition found in the Epic with that found in the later Vedic hymns. In both we find the existence of a comparatively archaic society. In both we find social customs which became obsolete in subsequent ages. In both we have pictures of simpler political institutions—the small city-state, the ruling tribe or state of moderate size—both speaking

of the supremacy of the popular will. All appear to tally with this difference that the account of the Mahābhārata is a little more tintured with poetic imagination.

That such a traditional account of the Vedas existed in very early times is proved by subsequent evidence furnished by our literature. We have repeated references to the Itihāsas and the Purāṇas of which the Mahābhārata is the pre-eminent representative. Next the *Āśvalāyana Grhya Sūtra* mentions the Bhārata and Mahābhārata. Again the Sūtras of Pāṇini speak of Vāsudeva, Arjuna, Yudhiṣṭhira and the Vṛṣṇis; as also of Droṇa, Hastināpura and the word Mahābhārata though its meaning is disputed (see Weber, *Hist. of Ind. Lit.*, p 185).

In the 4th century B. C. we find mention in the *Arthaśāstra* of all the principal personages and the heroes of the great Epic. Thus the *Arthaśāstra* speaks not only of Janamejaya, Yudhiṣṭhira, Duryodhana but refers also to the dice-play between Yudhiṣṭhira and Duryodhana and also reminds one of Nala and his downfall caused by his addiction to same. It accords it a high place and probably gives it the high position of a fifth Veda—the Itihāsa Veda. (*Sāmargyajurvedāstrayastrayī. Atharvavedetihāsa-vedauca vedāḥ*).

It refers to the downfall of the Vṛṣṇi-saṅgha<sup>1</sup> through the arrogance of the Yādavas towards Dvaipāyana, and mentions in the chapter on *indriya-jaya* some more names which are found in the great Epic.

From a consideration of the above facts we may come to the conclusion that a traditional account of the happenings on the eve of the Great War existed and by the

<sup>1</sup> In regard to the downfall of the Vṛṣṇis, Kauṭilya mentions Dvaipāyana as the offended sage. This account does not tally with the names of the insulted sages given in the Mahābhārata. Kauṭilya's account thus agrees in this respect with the tradition recorded in the Ghaṭa Jātaka.



sixth and seventh centuries, this traditional account had received a shape which did not materially differ from the account which we now have.

The main outlines of this traditional history centered round the Great War, which took place approximately about the 15th century before the Christian era. This date is obtained from the general testimony of the Purāṇas, which are almost unanims in holding that a period of 1000 years (1013 according to the *Viṣṇu-purāṇa*) elapsed between the birth of Parikṣit and the inauguration of the Nandas. The same date is obtained from the calculations based on the astronomical data furnished by the *Udyoga-parva* and some other portions of the epic and also from similar calculations. The late Mr. U. C. Vāṭavyāla calculated the date of Vyāsa Pārāśara on this basis, and taking the Mahābhārata to represent the traditional history of the Vedic period, he made approximate calculations about the dates of Śaunaka and Sudās.

The traditional accounts underwent modification at the hands of the later compilers. In spite of all this, however, the state of political condition or social condition depicted in it has not undergone any considerable modernisation, and anyone who carefully goes through the Mahābhārata is sure to find in it a picture of an archaic society as it existed in the days to which they are supposed to belong.

The object of this paper is to study the Mahābhārata from the point of view of the political condition described in it, the constitution of the various states, and the general state of Indian politics in those days, with a view to an enquiry into the nature of early Indian constitutions and the share of the people in politics.

The instances which will be cited from the epic will go to prove the extent of the share of the people in the government of those days. The evidence cited will clearly show (1) that all the kings of the Kuru line from the father of Śāntanu to Janamejaya ascended the throne with the

approval of the people ; (2) the people interfered in matters of succession, and we have in the Epic at least two instances of succession being changed at the instance of the people ; (3) one instance of a king being exiled by the citizens who approach another prince and wish to choose him ; (4) that even when a king handed over his regal authority to another, it required the approval of the people ; (5) that kings feared to commit arbitrary acts lest the people brought him to book.

*Other states of the central region.*

So far for the Kuru state. We have no account of the other states which existed in Northern India, but we may at least infer that a similar state of affairs existed in some of the states in the Madhya-deśa—at least in the kingdoms of Virāṭa and Drupada, where the sabhā met regularly<sup>1</sup>.

*(To be continued)*

NARAYAN CHANDRA BANERJEE

1 No details are found about the other states. In the case of Virāṭa we have the story (*Virāṭa parva*, Ch. VI) of his sabhā, where we find the Jānapadas assembled at the time of Yudhiṣṭhira's entering it. After Yudhiṣṭhira gives out that he was a brāhmaṇa and an expert in dice-play, the king of the Matsyas gives him protection and he is appointed a companion of the king. Curiously enough this is proclaimed to the Jānapadas in the following terms :—

Virāṭa uvāca,—

Hanyāmavaśyaṃ yadi te'priyaṃ caret pravrajayeyaṃ viṣayād  
dvi-jāmstathā.

Śṛṇvantu me jānapadāḥ samāgatā kaṅko yathāhaṃ viṣaye  
prabhustathā.

The same thing happened elsewhere. The Sabhā existed and there the people had free access and expressed their opinion,



## Etymologies of *kubhā*, *√lagh-*, *√cagh-*, *gevayā*, and *Lāghulo* (in the inscriptions of Aśoka)

The etymologies proposed for *kubhā* (Bar. I, 2 ; II, 3 ; III, 3), *laghamti* (DS. IV, 8 ; R. IV, 17 ; M. IV, 20 ; RM. IV, 15) and *caghamti* (DS. IV, 10 ; DM. IV, 2 ; R. IV, 18 ; M. IV, 21 ; RM. IV, 16), *caghati* (DS. IV, 11 ; R. IV, 18 ; M. IV, 22) and *caghatha* (Dh. Border Edict II, 11 ; *ibid.* Edict I, 19 ; J. Border Edict II, 16), as also for *gevayā* (DS. I, 7 ; A. I, 3 ; R. I, 3 ; M. I, 5 ; RM. I, 4) and *Lāghula* (Bhabra 5) do not seem to be satisfactory. *Kubhā*=*guhā*, according to Senart (*Inscr. Piya-dasi* II, 33, 403). This derivation seems to have been accepted by all perhaps on the ground of the similarity of meaning. The derivation of Pāli and Prākṛt 'bh' from Skt. 'h' is impossible. Where we find 'bh' in Pāli and Prākṛt in place of Skt. 'h', it either represents an original old Indic 'bh'<sup>1</sup> or 'gh'<sup>2</sup>. Then there is the change of Skt. 'g' to 'k'. Though this is not impossible, there is no other instance in the Aśoka inscriptions. *Kubhā* may be derived from an old Indic *guhā*, whence Hindi *guphā*, Old Bengali *gophā*, Oriya *gumphā*, or it may be an Old Indic word

1 Wo im Innern eines Worts zwischen vocalen für h des Skt. eine Aspirata erscheint ist darin keine "Vergrößerung" des h zu sehen, sondern der ältere Lautbestand (Pischel, *Gram. der Pkt. Sprachen*, para. 266). H sometimes returns to its original medial aspirate and this gives us Pāli forms which are older than the corresponding ones in Sanskrit (Müller, *Pāli Gram.* p. 34).

2 Bh verhält sich zu ursprünglichem gh, gh wie v zu k, g, d, h, es liegt. Wandel von Guttaralen in Labiale vor (Pischel, para. 266). I, however, differ from Pischel in deriving *bubbhāi*, *dubbhāi*, *libbhāi*, from *√vabh-* *√dubh-*, *√libh-* (for Skt. *√vah-*, *√duh-* *√lih-* ; IIr. *√vazh-*, *√dujh-* *√lizh-* ; IE *√uagh-*, *√dhugh-*, *√ligh-*). They may be derived from *vukvate*, *dukvate*, *likvate*, popular forms for Skt. *uhyate*, *duhyate*, *lihyate*. Müller derives Pāli *dubbhate*, from Skt. *√druh-*. It may be derived from Skt. *√dabh* through contamination with *√druh-*.

cognate with Old Eng. *cofa* 'a cave', Old Persian *kaufa* 'a mountain', representing i. e. *khubhā*. Skt. *kuhara* for *kubhara* (Cf. Vedic *kakuha* and *kakubha*, √*grbh* and √*grh*, √*bhr* and √*hr*) may be a doublet of this *kubhā*. Cf. also *śikhā* and *śikhara*.

Senart's suggestion to read *caghamti* for *laghamti* has been rightly rejected. Bühler derives it from Skt. √*ramh*. But in that case the form would have been *langhamti*. It comes from Skt. √*lakṣ* 'to aim at'. Thus *lakṣ* 7 *lakkh* 7 *laggh*, which last would of course be written in the Aśoka Inscriptions as *lagh*. From *lakṣ*- to *lagh*-, there are two stages of sound change; first, from 'kṣ' to 'kh' and secondly, from 'kh' to 'gh'. This is similar to the change of Skt. 'kṣ' to 'h' through 'kh' in Ardha-Māgadhi and Jaina Māgadhi; e. g. AMg. JM. *seha*—Pāli *sekha*—Skt. *śaikṣa*<sup>1</sup>. We may also compare Skt. *ākhyāpayati*—Pāli *akkhāpeti*—AMg. *āghāvei*; Skt. *nikāṣa*—Pkt. *nikhasa*—M. *nihasa*—AMg. *niḥhasa*<sup>2</sup>. As for Skt. 'kṣ' = 'kh' in the Aśoka Inscriptions, we may compare *palikkhā* (=Skt. *parikṣā*, Pillar Edict 1), *cakhu* (=Skt. *caḥṣu*, *Ibid.* II), *pakhi* (=Skt. *pakṣi*-, *Ibid.*), *pakhā* (=Skt. *pakṣā* *Ibid.* IV). As for the change of earlier 'kh' to 'gh', we have in the inscriptions instances of mediae for Skt. *tenues*; e. g. *logam* (J. Border Edict 1), *ajalā* (Dh. Border Edict 11), *vaḍikā* (Queen's Edict 3), *dose* (Khalsi IV, 19) *hida*- (Khalsi V, 15), *libi* (Delhi VII-VIII, 10, 11). In the Monumental Prākṛt we have specific instances of 'gh' for Skt. 'kh'; e. g. *sugha*<sup>3</sup> (=Skt. *sukha*, Karle 22, Kanheri 15, 28), *mugha* (=Skt. *mukha*, *Cave Temple Inscriptions*, p. 29, Nos. 4, 6), *Magha-deva* [Plate XLVIII (2) of Bharhut stūpa] for *Makhā-deva* (Jātaka no. 9 etc.).

As for √*cagh*- Senart conjectured its derivation from

1 Pischel, *Gram. der Pkt. Sprachen*, para. 323.

2 *Ibid.*, paras. 202, 203. 3 *Inscr. de Piyadasi*, II, 489.



*jāgrati* (*Inscr. Piyadasi* II, 33). He, however, is not satisfied with the derivation. He says, "S'il bien = jagr, ce qui est douteux" (*Ibid.* p. 375). Kern compared it with Hindustani *cāhnā*. But he could not give any earlier form. I propose to derive *√cagh-* from Skt. *cakṣ-*. From this *√cakṣ-* is derived Hindi, Bengali, etc. *√cāh-* 'to look, to desire'. We may compare Pkt. *dāhina*, Bengali *dāin*, Hindi *dāhnā* etc. from Skt. *dakṣiṇa* through Pkt. *dakkhina*. Pischel derives *caghati* = *cakhati* = *cakati* = Skt. *takati* from *√tak-* 'to bear' (*Gram.* § 465). But this meaning can hardly suit *caghati*. Wackernagel believes *√cagh-* to be original and compares it with Greek *tekh-nā* (*Altindische Gram.* note 9, p. xx).

Burnouf derives *gavaya* from Skt. *grāmya*. Senart approves of this etymology (*Inscr. Piyadasi* II, 7). But phonetically it is impossible to accept it. It may be derived from Skt. *gavaya*. In Skt., *gavaya* means 'an animal like the cow'. But Bengali *gabā* which is clearly derived from Skt. means 'a dullard'. This meaning fits here.

As for *Lāghula*, though it is well-known to be equivalent to Pāli *Rāhula*, no etymology seems to have been attempted to explain it. Of course we cannot derive 'gh' from 'h' (Vide foot-note 1). I propose to derive *Lāghula* from popular Skt. *Rāghula* a doublet of Skt. (Classical) *Rāghila* derived from *Rāghava* with the suffix 'ila'<sup>1</sup> 'to denote pity'<sup>2</sup>. *Rāghila* and *Rāghula* seem to have been forms of pet names for one whose name was *Rāghava*. Pāli *Rāhula* is a later formation than *Lāghula*. Cf. Pāli *Vāsula-dattā* for Skt. *Vāsava-dattā*. *Rāhula* is explained by *bandhana*, a 'bond fetter, impediment' (Anderson's *Pāli Glossary*, p. 219).

M. SHAHIDULLAH

1 Ghan-ilacau ca. *Pāṇini*, v, 3, 79.

2 Anukampāyām, *Pāṇini*, v, 3, 76.

## The Bhāsa Problem

### I. Introduction

The publication of a drama under the title Svapnavāsavadatta, and the consequent resuscitation of the ancient dramatist, Bhāsa, the illustrious predecessor of Kālidāsa, burst upon Sanskritists like a flash of lightning. So glorious and dazzling the so-called discovery appeared that it was everywhere looked upon as the greatest literary find of the century, and scholars, with the one honourable exception of Dr. L. D. Barnett, London, eagerly accepted the fundamental conclusions of Mahāmahopādhyāya T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī, the learned editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. If they have not subjected his conclusions to a critical evaluation, it is probably because they could not command the requisite materials for same. For these materials can be had only from a critical study of the nature and sources of the Kerala Sanskrit theatre and of the dramas as preserved in Kerala manuscripts. And these a non-Malayalee cannot easily gain access to, since the custodians of these, the cākyārs, the local professional actors, guard them so jealously that they are not prepared to show them, either for love or for money, even to their intimate friends, and since the temple theatre, where alone is the Sanskrit drama acted in the orthodox fashion, forbids entry to all but caste Hindus. An eloquent proof of the general inaccessibility of these materials is furnished by the editor himself; for, otherwise, he could not have set up such a theory and maintained it so consistently, unless one is prepared to argue that he is suppressing evidence for the sake of his theory. Such being the case, there is nothing to be wondered at, if scholars outside Kerala have silently accepted the editor's main conclusions. As a Malayalee who has had many opportunities to witness the staging of the Sanskrit dramas in the orthodox method and to gain a few



peeps into the sources of our stage, as a student of Sanskrit literature, who has facilities to study the more important Sanskrit dramas, and especially those, now included in the famous *Bhāsa-nāṭaka-cakra* in original Malayalee manuscripts, I have been able to gain some materials to clear up this riddle. The more important of the conclusions I have arrived at from these materials are presented in this paper.

## II. *The Bhāsa theory*

The acquisition of a drama, later published in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series under the title *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, led the editor to postulate the Bhāsa theory. This theory and all that it stands for rest upon two fundamental conclusions : (1) that Bhāsa, the predecessor of Kālidāsa, has written a drama, named *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* ; (2) that the *Svapna-Vāsavadatta* referred to and quoted from by ancient writers is identical with the text published under that name. The validity of the theory, therefore, depends upon the validity of the materials from which these conclusions have been drawn.

### *A. Bhāsa's authorship of a Svapna-Vāsavadatta*

The only evidence, brought forward by the editor and his adherents in support of the ancient Bhāsa's authorship of a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*, is the statement of Rājasekhara, as contained in the verse :

Bhāsanāṭakacakre'pi chekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum,  
Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako'bhūn na pāvakaḥ.

This statement by itself and detached from its context may be held to prove that Bhāsa is the author of a *Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. But, when read with the context, the authorship of the drama is to be assigned *not* to *the* Bhāsa but *a* Bhāsa. To elucidate discussion the context<sup>1</sup> is given below :

1 The verses are found in *Kaṭi Vimarṣa*, which is ascribed to Rājasekhara.

“kāraṇaṃ tu kavitvasya na sampan na kulīnatā,  
Dhāvako’pi hi yad Bhāsaḥ kavīnām agrimo’bhavat.  
ādaḥ Bhāsenā racitā nāṭikā Priyadarśikā,

... ..

tasya Ratnāvalī nūnaṃ ratnamāleḥ rājate,  
Daśarupaka-kāminyā vakṣasyatyantaśobhanā.  
Nāgānandaṃ samālokyā yasya Śrīharṣavikramaḥ,  
amandānandabharitaḥ svasabhyam akarot kavim.  
Udāttarāghavaṃ nūnaṃ udāttarasagumphitam,  
yad vīkṣya Bhavabhūtyādyāḥ praṇinyur nāṭakānī vai.  
śokaparyavasannāsya navāṅkakiraṇāvalī,  
mākandasyeva kasyātra pradadāti na nirvṛtim.  
Bhāsa-nāṭakacakre’pi chekaiḥ kṣipte parīkṣitum,  
Svapnavāsavadattasya dāhako’bhūn na pāvakaḥ’.

A study of this quotation will convince even the casual reader that Rājaśekhara is by no means quite a reliable authority. He is evidently wrong in assigning the authorship of Priyadarśikā, Ratnāvalī and Nāgānanda to Bhāsa and so *may be wrong* as regards the authorship of Svapna-Vāsavadatta. Hence the value of a tradition alone can be given to the statement. Secondly, and what is more important in the present discussion, Bhāsa, the illustrious predecessor of Kālidāsa, has no place in this quotation. Rājaśekhara explicitly says that his Bhāsa, a washerman by caste, was honoured by Śrī Harṣa of Kanouj and made a courtier of his. He cannot surely be identified with the pre-Kālidāsa dramatist. And according to Rājaśekhara, it is this neo-Bhāsa who has written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. Hence Rājaśekhara’s statement, *by itself*, cannot justify the conclusion that the ancient Bhāsa has written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. If, again, the Bhāsites shift their position and stick to their conclusion on the strength of the authority of the statement, ‘yathā Bhāsaḥ Svapna-Vāsavadatte’ found in the Nāṭya Darpaṇa<sup>1</sup>,

1 Prof. Sylvain Lévi’s analysis of the same. Vide *J.A.*, Oct.-Dec., 1923, pp. 193 ff.



still the conclusion stands on very weak grounds, for the identity of this Bhāsa with the ancient Bhāsa has yet to be established. And since, so far as we know, this has not been done, we are forced to conclude that on the evidence now available, one is not justified to come to the conclusion that the editor has arrived at. Hence the first of his conclusions stands on exceedingly flimsy grounds.

*B. The genuineness of the published text*

The second of the conclusions that the text represents the genuine Svapna-Vāsavadatta is still less valid. Such is the inference one is forced to draw after a study of the references to, and quotation from the genuine text. These are five in number : (1) Amaraṭīkāśarvasva of Sarvānanda ; (2) Locana of Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya ; (3) Nāṭya-darpaṇa of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra ; (4) Bhāva Prakāśa of Śārādātanaya<sup>1</sup>, and (5) Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratnakoṣa of Sāgarānandin<sup>2</sup>.

I. Sarvānanda in illustrating the three different kinds of Śṛṅgāra says : trividhaḥ śṛṅgāraḥ dharmārthakāmabhinnah, tatrādyo yathā Nandayantyām brāhmaṇabhojanam, dvitīyaḥ svadiśamātmasāt kartum Udayanasya Padmāvatī-pariṇayo' tthaśṛṅgāraḥ, trtīyaḥ Svapnavāsavadatte tasyaiva Vāsavadattā-pariṇayaḥ<sup>3</sup>.

This is the original statement and it is absolutely clear and void of all ambiguity. The drama named Svapna-Vāsavadatta, Sarvānanda explicitly says, deals with the love-marriage of Vāsavadattā. Not satisfied with this straightforward interpretation, the learned editor, moved probably by a desire to find a support in this for his theory, suggests and adopts the transposition of the words 'trtīyaḥ' and 'Svapna-Vāsavadatte'<sup>4</sup>. One cannot endorse such an uncalled for pruning

1 An unpublished treatise on dramaturgy, vide p. 108, note 2.

2 Prof. Sylvain Levi, *op. cit.*

3 Trivandrum Sanskrit Series No. XXXVIII, Pt. I, p. 145.

4 Introduction to Svapna-Vāsavadatta, 1916, p. 5.

by editorial scissors, even for the noble purpose of reviving the ancient Bhāsa, much less a neo-Bhāsa. Since the editor's text of Svapna-Vāsavadatta deals with the political marriage of Padmāvatī, it may safely be asserted that Sarvānanda's and the editor's texts are entirely distinct and different. Hence the published text cannot and does not represent the genuine text of Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to by Sarvānanda.

ii. Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya in his *Locana* quotes a verse from Svapna-Vāsavadatta, which runs thus :—

sañcitapakṣmakavātaṃ nayanadvāram iti

The editor is of opinion that this verse cannot find a place in his Svapna-Vāsavadatta and therefore concludes that Abhinava Gupta the most scrupulously careful writer is wrong in assigning this verse to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta. One may concede that he is right in his opinion ; but this does not mean that one must necessarily accept his conclusion. If this verse cannot find a suitable context in his Svapna-Vāsavadatta, it only means that *Gupta is quoting from another Svapna-Vāsavadatta*. Since, according to the editor, this verse can find a place only in the wooing of Vāsavadattā, and since Śarvānanda's Svapna-Vāsavadatta deals with this incident, the legitimate conclusion is that Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya's and Śarvānanda's texts are one and the same. If this inference is correct, then it becomes a further proof that the editor's Svapna-Vāsavadatta has nothing to do with the text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta known to Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya and Sarvānanda.

iii. Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra refer to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta by a Bhāsa in the following context in their Nāṭya-Darpaṇa :

yathā Bhāsa kṛte Svapna-Vāsavadatte Śephālikāmaṇḍapaśilātalam avalokya Śrī Vatsarājaḥ.

According to Prof. Sylvain Lévi, neither the verse nor the situation can find a suitable context in the editor's Svapna-Vāsavadatta. These authors also may, therefore, be quoting



from the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, familiar to Abhinava Gupta Pādācārya and Sarvānanda.

The references and quotations, found in the three works given above, show that Svapna-Vāsavadatta, known to their authors, is quite distinct from the Svapna-Vāsavadatta edited in the Trivandrum Series.

iv. Sāgaranandin in his Nāṭaka Lakṣaṇa Ratnakōṣa refers to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta in the following passage :

nepathye Sūtradhārah<sup>1</sup> (utsāraṇaṃ śrutvā paṭhati) aye  
kathaṃ tapovane'pyutsāraṇā. (vilokya) kathaṃ mantrī Yau-  
gandharāyaṇaḥ Vatsarājasya rājyapratyānayanam kartukāmaḥ.

\* \* \* \* \*

The Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to here, evidently has something in common with Trivandrum text. But since what is quoted is not found in the latter, it cannot be said to represent the genuine text.

v. Śāradātanaya refers to a Svapna-Vāsavadatta in his Bhāva-Prakāśa.<sup>2</sup> The context in which the reference occurs is given below :

1 Evidently there appears to be an omission. Before Sūtradhāra there must be some sentence.

2 The author of the work Bhāva Prakāśa is Śāradātanaya, son of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla whose grandfather is mentioned to have written a Veda Bhāṣya, named Veda Bhūṣaṇam. A resident of Benares, he was like his father a staunch devotee of the goddess Śāradāmbal. During one Caitra festival he happened to witness thirty different kinds of plays staged. Being then moved by a desire to study Nāṭya Veda he became a disciple of one Divākara, the then master of the concert hall, and studied under him all the ancient works of dramaturgy, by Śiva, Gaurī, Brahmā, Hanumān, and Bharata and his disciples. Then he wrote Bhāva-Prakāśa for the guidance of the actors, which purports to contain the essence of all the works on the subject. The work is divided into ten chapters and a cursory glance through it has enabled me to come across themes of certain unknown dramatists, such as Kohala, Drauhīni, Matrīgupta, Śākuka, and of some dramas, so far unheard of, such as Mārīca Vañcitam in five acts; Naṭavikramam, in eight acts; Devī Pariṇayam in nine acts ; Menaka Nahuṣam in nine

praśāntarasabhūyiṣṭham Praśāntam nāma nātākam,  
 nyāso nyāsasamudbhedo bijoktir bijadarśanam.  
 tato'nudiṣṭasamhāraḥ praśānte pañcasandhayāḥ,  
 sātvatī vṛttir atra syād iti Drauhinir abravīt.  
 Svapnavāsavadattākhyam udāharaṇam atra tu,  
 ācchidya bhūpāt samyak sā devī Māgadrikā kare.  
 nyastā yatas tato nyāso mukhasandhir ayam bhavet,  
 nyāsasya ca pratimukhaṁ samudbheda udāhṛtaḥ.  
 Padmāvatyā mukhaṁ vikṣya viśeṣakavibhūṣitam,  
 jīvaty Avantiketi jñānaṁ bhūmibhujo yathā.  
 utkaṇṭhitena sodvegaṁ bijoktir bijadarśanam,  
 ehi Vāsavadatteti kva yāsītyādi drśyate.  
 sabhāvasthitayor ekaprāptyā nyasya gaveṣaṇam,  
 darśanasparśnā<sup>1</sup> chāpair etat syāt bijadarśanam.  
 ciraprasuptaḥ kāmo me vīṇayā pratibodhitāḥ,  
 tām tu devīm na paśyāmi yasyā ghoṣavatī priyā  
 kiṁ te bhūyaḥ priyaṁ kāryam iti vāg atra nocyate,  
 tato' nudiṣṭasamhāram ityā hur Bharatādayaḥ.

The text of the Trivandrum edition has much in common with the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, referred to by Śaradātanaya. But yet the two, it is evident, are not identical. Thus Padmāvatī's adorning herself with a beautiful *tilaka*, the king seeing it, his exclamation, 'alive is Vāsavadattā,' his ravings in the excess of love sickness, 'come, Vāsavadattā,' 'where dost thou go?' these are not found in the published text. This is enough evidence to prove that the latter is not genuine. If

acts; Ramānanda; Sitāpaharaṇam; Kṛtya Rāvaṇam; Gaurī Gṛham; all regular Nāṭakas. Amongst Prahāsanas are mentioned Saubhadrika, Sāgar Kaumudī, Kalikeli; amongst Dimas, Tripuradāham, Vṛtroddharaṇam and Tārakoddharaṇam. Other names of works and persons also there are in the work which shall be set forth on a future occasion. The work is written throughout in poetry, simple and elegant, and touches upon every department of dramaturgy. Since the author quotes from Mammaṭa, he could not have lived earlier than the twelfth century. Probably he may have to be brought down to a still later age.

1 The manuscript reads 'sparśanair etat'. This is evidently wrong.



anything more is needed to justify such a conclusion, that is supplied by Śāradātanaya's remarks on Prastāvanā. He says that Kathā-Sūtradhāra enters only after the Nandi-Sūtradhāra has left the stage, but never mentions of a drama opened by the former. He details the various items to be mentioned in the Prologue, but has no exception to, or deviations from, the general rule to point out. He remarks that Prastāvanā may as well be termed Āmukha, but does not suggest Sthāpana as an alternative. The dramaturgist who is so familiar with the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, as the above quotation shows, cannot surely pass over its Prastāvanā, if it had any peculiarity. This absence of comment eloquently confirms the fact that the genuine Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the Trivandrum text are not identical. Hence the evidence of Bhāva-Prakāśa also is against the editor's contention that his text is genuine<sup>1</sup>.

Thus the references to the Svapna-Vāsavadatta, made by Sāgaranandin and Śāradātanaya, show that while the Trivandrum edition has much in common with their Svapna-Vāsavadatta, the two cannot be said to be identical. We incline to the opinion that the Trivandrum text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta is only a playwright's adaptation of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta known to Śāradātanaya.

On the strength of the evidence furnished by the five works, quoted from, in the preceding paragraphs, it can be asserted that the second of the editor's conclusions also is invalid.

The consideration of this aspect of the problem has revealed the fact that there are two well-known Svapna-Vāsavadattas, one referred to in Amara-ṭikā-sarvasva and Nāṭya Darpaṇa, delineating the love-marriage of Vāsavadattā, and the other, referred to in the Bhāva-Prakāśa, describing the political marriage of Padmāvatī. It has already been

1 The same conclusion has been arrived at in the paper 'Bhāsa's Works. Are they genuine?' written in collaboration with Mr. A. K. Pisharoti of Trivandrum and published in *B. O. S.*, London.







Figs. 1, 3, 4. Sāma, Vessantara and Kinnara Jātakas



Fig 2. Mahākanha Jātaka

pointed out that there are two Bhāṣas. These and a Bhāṣa's relation to the first Svapna-Vāsavadatta are the interesting literary problems which have arisen as a result of the foregoing consideration.

Going back to the main subject. In view of the fact that the ancient Bhāṣa could not even be supposed to have written a Svapna-Vāsavadatta, much less the Triv. text of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta and in view of the fact that this latter has been proved to be spurious, the theory of Bhāṣa—ancient Bhāṣa—resolves itself into a myth, pure and simple. And, therefore all that has been written about the antiquity of the Svapna-Vāsavadatta and the other twelve dramas of the series, pompously styled “Bhāṣa-Nāṭaka-Cakra” deserves to be consigned to the limbo of oblivion.

*(To be continued)*

K. R. PISHAROTI

### Some Wall-Paintings from Kelaniya

Ceylon preserved in its wall-paintings the traditions of early Indian art up to the nineteenth century. Its vihāras contain examples of Buddhist paintings which, with regard to their subject-matter as well as their forms, are direct descendants of the practice of art during the Śuṅga period in India, of which apart from the scanty traces of wall-painting in the Jogimara cave, no pictorial rendering has been preserved, whereas the reliefs on the



railing of the Barhut stūpa are the most instructive and serene representations.

Buddhism in Ceylon being a living faith, the Jātakas remain vivid instances of popular appeal and their incidents appear to take place in contemporary buildings, and their heroes and saints are dressed in the Ceylonese fashion and at times also in English uniform, although in no other Vihāra than that in Kelaniya which is only a few miles off Colombo. The Jātakas are arranged in broad, horizontal bands ; they are depicted in continuous narration all along the walls of the Vihāra-halls. They are divided from one another by narrow ornamental designs or by plain stripes of colour on which the names of the Jātakas are inscribed. The selections of these Jātaka scenes, as in olden times, were made by the donor and by the artist. Those painted in Kelaniya are the Sāma-jātaka (fig. 1) which tells how the Bodhisattva, who in a miraculous way was born to his blind ascetic parents, went to the forest to gather food. He was noticed by a king on the shore of the Migasammata, who wanted to make sure whether he was a god or a nāga and for that purpose the king shot him to death. The goddess Bahusodari, who in a former existence had been the mother of the Great Being, determined to bring him back to life, and thus she invisibly appears in the sky over the water, while the king himself leads the blind parents to their dead son. The goddess and the mother bring Sāma back to life, for the gods themselves cure him who honours his parents.

In the Mahākapha Jātaka (fig. 2) Indra changes the god Mātali into a big, black hound, in order to frighten mankind which had fallen into sin. The dog threatens to kill all culprits but Indra with him rises into the air and promulgates Dhamma.

The Vessantara Jātaka (fig. 3) tells of the Bodhisattva's limitless largess ; he gives away the wondrous elephant and later on even his own children, but all ends well and the prince returns at the end from the seclusion of







Fig. 5. Māra attacks Buddha



Fig. 6. Ceylonese rulers

the forest into his royal home. The Caṇḍa-kinnara Jātaka (fig. 4) praises the loyalty of the beautiful kinnarī, who succeeded in resuscitating the dead kinnara<sup>1</sup>.

Belief in miracles, Buddhist self-abnegation and civic virtues are mixed in these child-like legends and are represented as taking place under the heavy foliage of ever-green trees. From the life itself of Buddha, the moment of the temptation and illumination is selected (fig. 5). That the Earth is called to witness is suggested by the figure of Mihikata, who emerges from the ground. In the top-most row the various Buddhas are enthroned, while on the side-walls the figures of rulers (fig. 6) or of monks are to be seen.

The doors of the broad main wall are crowned by Makara toraṇas in relief. One of them (fig. 7) frames the figure of Buddha painted on a ground covered with a pattern "without end". At the sides of the doors Nāgas are painted with floral offerings (fig. 8), and colossal Dvārapālas keep guard in high relief, richly dressed and lavishly decorated. Myth and history appear in the same juxtaposition as sculpture and painting and their union is confirmed by the rythmic design and the colouring of the walls.

The profuse array of figures in their variegated movements is kept in order by the horizontal ornamental rows. The lowermost fig. 2 places, on the top of a lotus-rosette border familiar in India, flowerpots with lotus flowers and palm leaves, auspicious forms in a sharp alteration of light opening or closing round forms with a dark ground. A peculiarly Ceylonese device is the floral creeper, of which the flower merges into a female figure (nārī latā bhela). This fairy-tale flower is supposed to grow in the Himālayas, where it tempts many a recluse<sup>2</sup>. Other ornamental devices consist of rows of four-petalled lotuses,

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Mediæval Sinhalese Art*, p. 92.

2 Cowell and Rouse, *Jātaka*, 540 ; 469 ; 96 ; 547 ; 485.



festoons (*Mālā*) and rows of single lotus petals (*palāpeti*), the latter being especially suited for mouldings. Besides these borders, which also occur in the classical art of the West, a leafy creeper (*liya-peta*—fig. 7) frequently fills the panels akin to and most probably derived from the *Akanthus* device. It has predecessors in India from the 2nd century A.D. onwards (Cf. *Amarāvati*). Thoroughly indigenous, however, is the infinite surface-filling pattern with scattered rotating circles consisting of slight suggestions of foliage and flowers on a dark ground (*picca mala*—fig. 7).

The most remarkable representations, from the artistic point of view, are on the rectangular panels of the ceiling. They are surrounded by festoons: Some of them contain the well-known "life-tree" device, with many branches, with birds on them and deer and men beneath, akin to the "life-tree" printed on Palampores at Masulipatam. But of the two remaining rectangular ceiling panels with their partitions marked by painted beams, the one contains the figures of the rulers of the eight directions of the world (fig. 9), which, if read from right to left and in horizontal rows around the central figure, are to represent Agni, the ruler of the South-east, Nairitya of the South, Yāmya of the South-west, Indra of the East, Varuṇya of the West, Īsāna of the North-east, Saumya, of the North, and Vāyavya of the North-west, whereby the southern direction occupies the uppermost third of the picture. The other rectangular panel (fig. 10) contains the signs of the Zodiac (starting from the middle of the lowermost row towards the right), Meṣa, Vṛṣa, Mithuna, Karkāṭa, Simha, Kanyā, Tulā, Vṛścika, Dhanu, Makara, Kumbha, and Mīna, round the figures of sun and moon on a ground of stars.

The technique of these paintings is a sort of tempera. The wall is first covered with a layer of caoline which then is laid over with magnesit. The outlines then are drawn with a thin brush in black colour, the inner portions of the figures are left white, whereas the

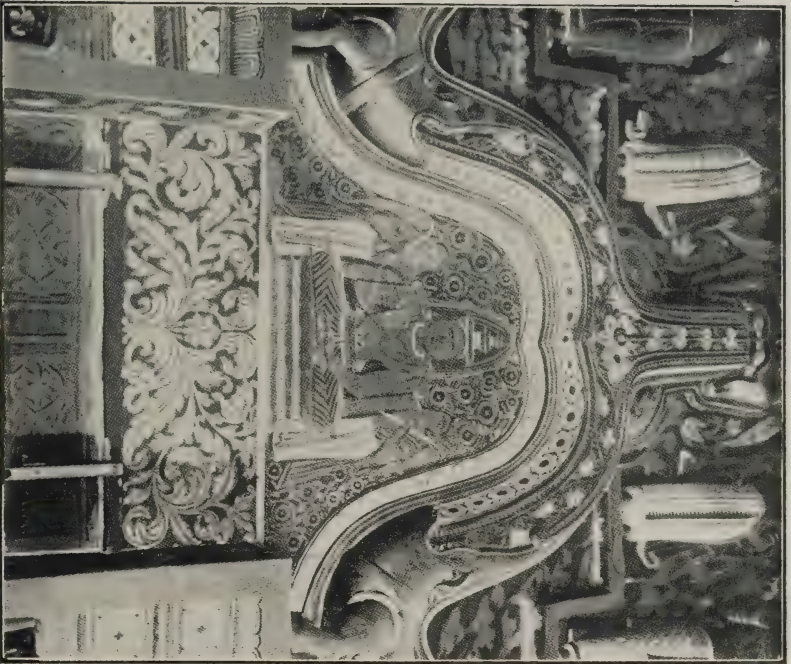


Fig. 7. Makara Torana—Tympanum



Fig. 8. Nāga and Divārapāla





background is touched up with crimson. The outlines finally are filled with yellow colour, whereas the ground is covered with alternate layers of crimson and red, until at last it gets a deep glowing and clear red colour. The colours that produce the saturated yet bright effect of these paintings are cinnabar-red, yellow, magnesit-white and lamp-black. Indigo-blue is rarely used, as well as green and the lighter shades of the colours enumerated, mixed with white.<sup>1</sup>

Nowhere in these paintings is a trace of the tradition of painting as practised in Ajanta or in the closely allied Sigiriya. Though of a very late date, they are, as mentioned already, connected with the Śuṅga period of Indian Art. But although the special formulæ and the treatment of the surface are of early Indian extraction, the pointed angularity within a curvilinear treatment, in its clear cut but also petty orderliness is due to Ceylonese taste. It replaces the heavy flow of the round line of India by curt and decisive outlines. Upright, slender figures appear in shy and short rhythms within and outside the open and thin houses of Ajanta-like dimensions. Their movements, the way in which they go and bend, have a deliberate gracefulness due to courtly refinement, their eyes, wide open and gentle, but glanceless do not betray anything of their inner life. Their tightly fitting garments have a light charm of flowery suppleness. Even the demoniacal retinue of Māra is graceful in its gentleness and we witness an official call instead of a scene of temptation. Carriages of the nineteenth century with their horses are rendered with reserve, so that they almost appear at a historical distance, as little actual and contemporary as the big Hamsas whose flight between the broadly daubed tops of the trees seems once for ever to remain in hovering restfulness. Even today the artistic output of Ceylon, e. g. in Kandy, absorbs impressions of Western civilised life without imitating its artistic means

1 A. K. Coomaraswamy, loc. cit., pp. 164ff.



and introduces into a pageant of Ceylonese forest scenes and processions of elephants some motor cars, which being embossed in brass in a peculiarly Ceylonese mannerism have nothing jarring. This proves how strong the feeling for indigenous "form" is and what potent power tradition is in preserving that feeling. For this reason also, one of the most ancient methods of figure composition, the horizontal arrangement in rows, so well-known from the earliest Egyptian and Mediterranean practice has survived up to this day.

Enriched by the delight in ornaments and decoration the wall paintings appear at their best around the huge figures in relief of colossal Dvārapālas (fig. 8). Leaves and flowers, incredibly soft, ramble in a broad and yet almost flaming lassitude weighed down neither by fruits nor birds—suddenly beginning, suddenly at an end and are the frame of the nāga figure with its high snake crown and its wide open eyes.

STELLA KRAMRISCH

### Pāvāpurī and its Temple Praśasti

Pāvāpurī (the ancient town of Pāpā) is only a small village of about 300 houses mostly of Bhūmihār Brāhmaṇas. It is situated about 7 miles south of Bihar in the district of Patna. To the Jainas, it is associated with sacred memories. For it was here that their last (the 24th) Tīrthankara Lord Mahāvīra cast off his mortal body and attained *Nirvāṇa* nearly 2500 years ago (527 B. C.). The old text tells us that Pāvāpurī was then the capital of a local chief Hastipāla, and Mahāvīra in his 72nd year was passing the rainy season there in an old Writers' Hall. It was towards the last part of the night of the new-moon day of the month of Kārtika that Lord Mahāvīra renounced the world. We learn from the



Fig. 9. The Dikpālas, rulers of the eight directions



Fig. 10. The signs of the Zodiac





Jaina legends that a *stūpa* was built at the place by the gods who came there to celebrate the event and a temple was also built in commemoration by king Nandivardhana. On the same site stands the present temple which contains both the foot-prints and the image of the Tirthaṅkara which are worshipped by the followers of the sect. Outside the village towards the south lies a big tank, in the centre of which stands the temple known as Jalamandir which marks the spot where he was cremated. According to tradition, the number of people who attended the funeral ceremony was so large that the mere act of taking off a pinch of ashes by each individual created such a big cavity all round that the place soon became transformed into a tank. The foot-prints of Gautama and Sudharma, the first and fifth *gaṇadhara*s, are located in the temple with the foot-prints of Mahāvīra Svāmin in the middle. There is a stone-bridge of about 600 feet across it from the bank to the temple which is built in the shape of a vimāna. At the proper season of the year, the lake becomes full of blossoming lotuses making the whole scenery simply enchanting.

The dedicatory stone of Pāvāpurī temple was first discovered by me and only a portion could be deciphered at the time when my "Jaina Inscriptions, part I" was in preparation. I have, of late, been able to restore the entire stone, and the inscription is published below. The stone, which is of rough black colour, is an ordinary variety of local Magadha stone, the surface measuring about 10½ ins. by 15 ins. The inscription consists of 21 lines of Jaina script of which the letters of the first three lines are a little bigger than those of the remaining lines as will be seen in the plate. The inscription on the foot-prints of Mahāvīra in the village temple also repeats the same fact of the restoration of the tirtha and the construction of the present temple during the reign of emperor Shāh Jahān in 1641 A. D. by the Svet-āmbara Saṅgha under the guidance and advice of Jainācārya Jinarāja Sūri of Kharatara Gaccha.



## TEXT

1. //Ai// Svasti śrī Saṃvati 1698 vaiśākha sudi 5 somavāsare/  
pātisāha śrī Sāhijāṃha sakalanūra
2. maṇḍalādhiśvaravijayirājye// Śrīcaturviṃśatitamajinādhirāja  
śrīViravarddhamāna svāmi
3. nirvāṇakalyāṇikapavitrītaPāvāpurīparisare Śrīvirajinacaityani-  
veśaḥ/ śrī
4. Rṣabhajinarājapṛathamaputracakravartī śrī Bharatamahārāja-  
sakalamamṛitamaṇḍalaśreṣṭhamamṛitī śrīdalasantāniya ma-
5. hatīṇa jñātīśrṅgāra Copdāgotriya saṃghanāyaka saṃghabī  
Tulasīdāsa bhāryā Nihāloputra saṃ° saṃgrāma/
6. laghu bhrātṛ Govarddhana Tejapāla Bhojarāja/ Rohadiya  
gotriya maṃ° Paramāṇanda saparivāra Mahadhāgotriya viśeṣa-  
dharma/
7. karmmodiyama vidhāyaka ṭha° Dulicaṇḍa kādraḍāgotriya  
maṃ° Madanasvāmīdāsa Manohara Kuśalā Suṃdaradāsa Rohadiyā/
8. ṭha° Mathurādāsa Nārāyaṇadāsa Girīdhara Santādāsa Prasādi  
Vartidīa go° Gūjaramalla Būdaḍamalla Mohanadāsa/
9. Māṇikacanda Būdamalla Jeṭhamalla ṭha° Jagana Nūricanda/  
Nānharā go° ṭha° Kalyāṇamalla Malūkakanda Sabhā-
10. canda/ Saṃghelāgotriya ṭha° Siṃbhū Kīrtipāla Bābūrāya  
Kesavarāya Sūratisiṃgha/ Kādraḍā go° Dayāla-
11. dāsa Bhovālādāsa Kṛpālādāsa Mīra Murārīdāsa Kilū/ Kāṇā-  
gotriya ṭha° Rājapāla Rāmacaṇḍa//
12. Mahadhā go° Kīrtisiṃgha Ro° Chabicanda/ Jājīyāna go° Maṃ°  
Nathamala Nandalāla Nānhaḍāgotriya/
13. ṭha° Sundaradāsa Nāgaramalla Kamaladāsa// Ro° Sundara  
Sūratī Mūratī sabala kṛtī Pratāpa/ Pāhadiyā/
14. go° Hemarāja bhūpati/ Kāṇā go° Mohana Sukhamalla ṭha°  
Gaḍhamalla jā° Haradāsa Purasottama/ Miṇavā-
15. ṇa go° Biharīdāsa Bindu/ maha° Medanī Bhagavān Garībadāsa  
Sāharenpurīya Jivaṇa/ Vajāgarā go°/
16. Malūkakanda Jūjha go° Sacalabandī Santi/ Co° go° Nara-  
siṃgha Hirā Gharamū Uttama Varddhamānapramukha śrī/
17. vihāravāstavya Mahatīyāṇasīsaṃghena kārītaḥ tatpratiṣṭhā ca  
śrībṛhat Kharatara-Gacchādhīśvara yugapradhāna śrī/
18. Jinasiṃha Sūri paṭṭaprabhākara yugapradhāna śrī Jinarāja  
Sūri vijayamāna gururājānāmādeśena kṛta/







19. pūrvadeśavihārair yugapradhānaśrīJinacandraSūriśiṣya śrī  
Samayarājopadhyāya śiṣya bā° Abhayasundara Ga-

20. ṇi vineya śrī Kamalalābhopādhyāyaiḥ śiṣya paṃ° Labdhakīrti  
gaṇi paṃ° Rājahaṃsa gaṇi Devavijaya ga-

21 ṇi Thirakumāra Caraṇakumāra Meghakumāra Jīvarāja, Sāṃ-  
kara Jasavaṃta Mahājalādi śiṣyasamṭati saparivāryaiḥ/ Śrīḥ/

PURAN CHAND NAHAR

The Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad and the Gauḍapāda Kārikās

It is generally known that the *Māṇḍūkya* forms one of the ten principal Upaniṣads, and Gauḍapāda has explained it by his Kārikās or the explanatory verses, and these Kārikās together with the original Upaniṣad have again been commented upon by Śaṅkarācārya, the great commentator of the *Brahma-sūtras*. This popular view must be either abandoned or modified to a great extent.

For the sake of convenience we shall first take up a question regarding the real extent of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad. In the present day we all know that it comprises only the prose passages, twelve in number<sup>1</sup>, and the kārikās of Gauḍapāda<sup>2</sup> are mere explanation of the former, and thus these two works are different from each other. But this fact is not admitted on all hands. It is maintained by some that the Upaniṣad is composed not only of the prose passages referred to but also of the first book (*prakaraṇa*) of the of the kārikās. This view dates back at least from the time of Madhvācārya, the founder of the Dvaita school of the Vedānta philosophy (1199-1278). According to him and

1 Beginning with "om ityetadakṣara°" and ending in "ātmānaṃ ya evaṃ veda".

2 From "bahīṣprajño vibhurviśvaḥ°" to "durdarśam iti°" I, 1—IV, 100.



his followers, viz., Vyāsātīrtha and Śrīnivāsa, both the prose passages and the kārīkās included in the first book have been handed down by Varuṇa in the form of a *maṇḍūka* “a frog”<sup>1</sup>, the kārīkās, however, being regarded as *mantras* which are said to have been seen by Brahman, the creator<sup>2</sup>, as the *Rṣi*. I have already pointed out elsewhere<sup>3</sup> that the commentator of *Nṛsiṃhapūrvatāpanīya* Upaniṣad who is also known by the name of Śaṅkarācārya and identical with the author of the *Prapañcasāra*, a tāntrik work, is also of the same opinion, though he does not give any particular as to whether the *Rṣi* or the seer of the whole Upaniṣad is Varuṇa or whether the kārīkās are seen as *mantras* by Brahman, the creator. Kūranārāyaṇa, another commentator of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad belonging to the Rāmānuja school of Vedānta maintains<sup>4</sup> the same view taking the kārīkās of the first book as *mantras*, which, in his opinion, too, together with the prose passages form the original Upaniṣad. Appaya Dikṣita<sup>5</sup>

1 The commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya Up.* by Madhvācārya with *Śrīnivāsīya*, Kumbhakonam, pp. 2-3. In support of this he quotes the following :—

“Dhyāyan Nārāyaṇaṁ devaṁ praṇavena samāhitaḥ

Maṇḍūkarūpi Varuṇas tuṣṭāva Harim avyayam.” *Padmapurāṇa*.

“Iti Maṇḍūkarūpi san dadarśa Varuṇaḥ śrutim”. *Harivaṁśa*.

These two ślokaś are not found in the printed editions. See also (*Ibid.*, p. 2 “maṇḍūkarūpiṇā Varuṇena catūrūpo Nārāyaṇo’tra stūyate”.

2 *Ibid.* p. 8 :—

“Brahmadīṣṭhān ato mantran pramāṇaṁ salileśvaraḥ,

Atra ślokā bhavantiti cakārainam prthak prthak.”

This, too, is not found in the printed editions. It is to be noted that the *Vyāsātīrtha-tīkā*, too, introduces the kārīkās under the name of mantra.

3 My paper entitled “*Śaṅkara's Commentaries on the Upaniṣadas* in *Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume*.”

4 Ānandāśrama ed. 1910, p. 199 “Upaniṣat śvayaṁ pramāṇam api dārḍhyāya svokter mantrān udāharati”.

5 A different person from the renowned author of the *Siddhānta-lēśasaṅgraha*.

a commentator of the one hundred and eight Upaniṣads seems to subscribe to the same view, for his commentary on this Upaniṣad extends only to the prose passages and the kārīkās of the first book<sup>1</sup>. A large number of Mss. of this Upaniṣad in different libraries contains only these prose passages and the kārīkās of the first book<sup>2</sup>.

Thus it is perfectly clear from the above that by a considerable number of writers the first book of the kārīkās in their present form was taken as a part of the original Upaniṣad. Not only this, on the evidence of a large number of Mss., each of the four books of the kārīkās is also regarded as a separate Upaniṣad<sup>3</sup>.

Be it as it may. It is however evident from what is said above that according to those authorities the last three books of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkās* form quite a different book or books with which the *Māndūkya* Upaniṣad has not any connection. It cannot be said that these three last books were not known to them or in their times, for their priority to those authors can very satisfactorily be proved by the very simple fact that the great Śaṅkara who flourished long before them has quoted in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* (1. 4. 14) a kārīkā from the third book (III. 15). Here a question may be put as to why they did not explain the last three books of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkās* which they had before them. The answer might be twofold. First, it might be their honest belief that those books had no connection with the original *Māndūkya* Upaniṣad which, according to them, comprises only the twelve prose passages and the first book of the *Gauḍapāda-kārīkās*. And secondly, it might be said that they could not explain

1 & 2 See *Sanskrit Manuscripts* (The Adyar Library), Vol. I, Upaniṣads, pp. 116, 287-288.

3 Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, 1895, p. 161; Jacobi, *Concordance to Principal Upaniṣadas*, Preface, p. 8. For *Advaita-prakarana Up.* and *Alītaśānti-prakarana* see the Mss labelled ZZE of the Bombay Branch R. A. S.



them, for, the dominant thoughts therein, viz. absolute 'monism' (*advaitavāda*) and idealism (*vjñānavāda*) would go against their own views, viz. dualism (*dvaitavāda*) or qualified monism (*viśiṣṭādvaitavāda*). The first answer seems to be more reasonable than the second, for had they known that the last three books were really included in or connected with the original Upaniṣad they would have undoubtedly explained them, as has been done by Puruṣottama, the grandson of Vallabha (1479-1531 A. D.) the great teacher of the pure monism (*Śuddhādvaita*) school<sup>1</sup>.

That the first book of the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās* was not regarded as an Upaniṣad or a part of it in the time of Śaṅkara can be safely asserted, for as we have just now seen in the preceding foot-note, he quotes a *kārikā* from this book (I. 16), too, in his commentary on the *Brahmasūtra* (II. 1. 9), and in doing so he does not say it to be a *śruti*, as he clearly states that it is a saying of those teachers who know the tradition of Vedānta<sup>2</sup>. On another occasion in quoting from this work he uses almost the same words<sup>3</sup>. From such statements of Śaṅkara it is quite clear that the *kārikās* are composed by a great teacher (*ācārya*), and thus they cannot be regarded as an Upaniṣad nor can they partly or wholly form a portion of it.

We shall now try here to examine as clearly as possible the true relation between the prose passages and the first book of the *Gauḍapāda-kārikās*.

As Madhvācārya says<sup>4</sup>, the twelve prose passages of

1 In the same work (II. 1. 9) he has cited one *kārikā* more from the first book (I. 16). In the *Vivekaśūlamanī* (Vani Vilas Press, p. 109) a work assigned to him, one *kārikā* from the second book (II. 32) has also been quoted though without mention of doing so.

2 "atroktaṃ Vedāntasampradāyavidbhir ācāryaiḥ".

3 "tathā ca sampradāyavido vadanti" Com. *Brahmasūtra* I. 4. 14. The *kārikā* referred to here is III. 15.

4 Com. on *Māṇḍūkya Up. Śrīnivāsathīyavivṛtti*, p. 8.

the Upaniṣad are divided into four parts<sup>1</sup>. Just after each of them<sup>2</sup> there is a line, viz. "*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*" 'here are the ślokaś'. These introductory lines compared with similar sentences<sup>3</sup> in the different Upaniṣads strongly suggest that the ślokaś are quoted there only to support what is being discussed. And we have already seen that Madhvācārya and others, and specially the former, say the very thing quite clearly. Thus it follows from it that the ślokaś or kārīkāś were already in existence and the prose passages came into being afterwards.

A question may, however, arise here as to whether these introductory lines ("*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*") are in fact included in the Upaniṣad. In some of the Mss.<sup>4</sup> used for the preparation of the second and third edition (1900 and 1910 respectively) of the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad with the kārīkāś and the *bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara and *Tīkā* of Ānandagiri in the Ānandāśrama Sanskrit Series, there is a short line apparently in the *bhāṣya* just at the beginning of "*Atraite ślokā bhavanti*" (p. 25) which introduces it saying "Now, here is the sentence of the author of the *Vārtika* (i. e. the kārīkāś)." <sup>5</sup> This shows that the introductory lines are not included in the original Upaniṣad. This view is supported by

1 Part I, passages 1-6 ; Part II, passage 7 ; Part III, passages 8-11 ; Part IV, passage 12.

2 I. e. before kārīkāś 1, 10, 19, 24.

3 "tadete ślokā bhavanti", Bṛhad. Up. 4. 3 ; II, 4. 4. 8 ; "tadeṣa śloko bhavati", Bṛhad. Up. 2. 2. 3, etc. ; "tadeṣa ślokaḥ", Ch. Up. 2. 11. 3 ; 3. 11. 1 ; etc. ; "tadapyeṣa śloko bhavati", Taitti. Up. 2. 1. 1 ; cf. "tadetad ṛcābhyuktam". Ch. Up. 3. 12. 5, Bṛhad. Up. 4. 4. 23 ; Praśna Up. 1. 7 ; Maṇḍūkya. Up. 3. 2. 19, etc.

4 Viz., kha ga 3.

5 "atha vārtikakāroktam vākyam." That the kārīkāś were known to some as a *Vārtika* is evident also from at least other two Mss., viz., 'gha' and 'ña' : "iti Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadam vārtika" p. 155, note 1 (2nd ed.). We shall come to this point later on. The *Vārtikakāra* is therefore here GauḢapāda himself.



the following lines of Ānandagiri : 'The teacher (i.e. Gauḍapāda) having read the *Māṇḍūkya* Upaniṣad (up to that portion) introduces the ślokas which are its exposition by the words beginning with 'Here.' And the author of the bhāṣya (i.e. Śaṅkara) explains it, quoting it by the word 'Here'<sup>1</sup>'. Thus according to Ānandagiri, too, these introductory lines do not constitute the original Upaniṣad.

But this can hardly be accepted on the following grounds : First, we have already seen that among those who hold that the kārīkās of the first book are included in the original Upaniṣad, Madhvācārya is the foremost. He expressly says that the introductory lines in question are also the parts of the Upaniṣad. For he writes in his commentary (pp. 7-8) :

"Brahmadṛṣṭānato mantrāṇaṃ pramāṇaṃ salileśvaraḥ  
Atra ślokā bhavantīti cakāraivaṃ punaḥ punaḥ".

"Therefore, Varuṇa took the *mantras* as authority quoting them separately with the words 'Here are the ślokas'." Madhvācārya says this couplet is in the *Garuḍa-purāṇa*<sup>2</sup>. If it is so, it would follow from it that this fact was known to the people long before him.

Secondly, as has already been shown, the manner in which these lines are introduced if compared with that in similar cases in the Upaniṣads and other works, would strongly indicate that the introductory lines are included in the main work.

Thirdly, it is found in Sanskrit works that whenever an introductory phrase, such as "atrāyaṃ ślokaḥ" etc., is used, only two things are possible there : (1) either the whole work including both the phrase and the śloka is by the same author,<sup>3</sup> or (ii) the śloka introduced by the phrase

1 "ācāryair Māṇḍūkyopaniṣadaṃ paṭhitvā tadvyākhyānaślokāva-tāraṇaṃ atretyādīnā kṛtaṃ. Tad atretyanupya bhāṣyakārau vyākaroti", p. 25.

2 Not found in the printed edition.

3 For instance, let us take Sāyaṇa's commentary on the *R̥gveda*

are by one and the other portion of the work by another<sup>1</sup>. In the first case the whole of the first book including both the prose passages and the kārīkās should be accepted as written by one, i.e. the teacher, Ācārya Gauḍapāda; but Ānandagiri would not admit it. And in the second, the introductory phrases must be included in the main Upaniṣad as is the case with other Upaniṣads, but this would also not be admitted by him.

Fourthly and finally, as we shall presently see that the twelve prose passages of the Māṇḍūkya Upaniṣad are based on the Gauḍapāda-kārīkās in the first book and not the latter on the former, it is quite certain that the former should have the introductory line and the quoted kārīkās referred to by them, as the case is with other Upaniṣads.

*(To be continued)*

VIDHUSHEKHAR BHATTACHARYA

(Max Müller's 2nd ed. Vol. I, p. 6; see also pp. 10-11) where he introduces two ślokas saying "Tatra saṅgraha śatakan". 'Here are two collecting verses', and then quotes them and these are his own and taken from his *Taiminīyanyāyamālā* (1. 2. 4.).

<sup>1</sup> See the passages of the Upaniṣads referred to in the foot-note no. 3, p. 123.



## Lakṣmana Sena's Flight from Nadia

The story of the way in which Bengal came under the Muhammadan rule is the most marvellous that has been recorded by historians. The ousting of the Hindu ruler was made by Muhammad, son of Bakhtiyar Khilji, and not by Qutbuddin. This account is found not in the contemporaneous *Tajul-Maasir* but in the *Tabaqat-i-Nāsirī* written admittedly from hearsay reports.

We give the account as given in the *Tabaqat* with remarks of my own. Muhammad Bakhtiyar was a Khilji (not a Turk but an Afghan) adventurer who sought employment and fortune under the expanding power of Shahabuddin Ghorī. When a victorious people establishes its rule in a new country, turbulent spirits belonging to the nationality of the rulers come forward in numbers to advance their fortunes as Maratha cavaliers did under Sivaji or Baji Rao. Bakhtiyar was a hair-brained adventurer of this type. He obtained an employment as Governor of Mirzapur. Collecting an army of Turks and Afghans, he first attacked Bihar, plundering both town and country. He is said to have seized a Buddhist settlement described as Bihar and massacred all the defenceless shaven-headed 'Brāhmaṇas' (i.e. Buddhists) and thrown away their sacred books, which none was left to read or explain. This event happened probably in 1199 A. D. as Bakhtiyar is described by *Tajul-Maasir* as appearing before Qutbuddin with presents obtained by the occupation of Oudh and Bihar. He was honoured with a robe and again sent to Bihar.

"He then planned the conquest of Bengal and secretly prepared an army and suddenly made a raid on Nadia the capital of Bengal. In his impetuosity, he reached the city with only 18 horsemen with him and entering it in an inoffensive manner, looking as if he were a dealer in

horses, reached the palace, and at once drawing swords attacked the guards. The palace was in consternation and none opposed him. The aged king Lakṣmaṇasena heard the uproar, as he was about to sit to dinner, and knowing the reality fled by the back-door. He escaped and went to the Jagannāth. The palace and the city were taken possession of by the army which soon arrived. It is needless to say that there was no resistance, and the city was plundered and even destroyed". Bakhtiyar made Gauḍa or Lakhnauti his capital as this had been a capital of the Sena kings.

Doubts have been expressed about the truth of the account given above. That the political government of Bengal should have been so lax and supine as not to know of the advance of an army over such a great distance (Bihar to Nadia), or that there was no preparedness to resist the dangerous enemy when the whole country was talking of the fall of Delhi and Kanauj, or that there was actually not a single blow struck in defence of Nadia or the kingdom, is strange indeed. It appears to me to be a sheer exaggeration of the Muhammadan informants of the author of the *Tabaqat*, if not of the historian himself. The absurd story that the birth of the king Lakṣmaṇa was delayed for the arrival of the auspicious moment of birth by tying up the feet of the pregnant queen as told in the *Tabaqat* is proof enough of the absurd nature of the whole story. The occupation of Bengal is placed by the *Tabaqat* in 1099, the 80th year of the Lakṣmaṇa Sena era, but it probably happened after his death and in about 1202 A. D. The account tries to explain the entire absence of defence by the king by attributing it to the supposed superstition of the old king's Brāhmaṇa councillors, who had told him that the kingdom was fated to be taken by a Turk according to their astrological calculations. It is even added that when the king enquired what the mark of the conqueror would be, it was stated by the learned astrologers that the conqueror would have long arms reaching below the knees. The king sent men to



ascertain whether any Turk had that mark and Bakhtiyar was found to have such long arms. There may be some truth in the fact that the resistance of the Hindus was weakened to some extent by the foretelling of the *Purāṇas* that 'Bhāratavarṣa was fated to be conquered by the Mlecchas', or the absurd and fearful prognostications of the astrologers. But the story is on the face of it too absurd to be true and we at once set down this account of the fall of Bengal as exaggerated.

For this account of the *Tabaqat* written about 1250 A. D., distorted as it must have been by the desire of the adventurers who accompanied Muhammad Bakhtiyar to exaggerate the courage of the invaders or to have a hit at the Hindu belief in astrology, this account should be tested by the evidence of a contemporaneous Indian record, viz. the Bakerganj Inscription of Keśavasena (*JASB.*, vol. VII, pp. 40-50). It no doubt exaggerates the prowess both of Lakṣmaṇasena and his son the grantor Keśavasena, and thus errs on the other side. But it makes no mention whatever of this ignominious defeat of Lakṣmaṇasena, coming as it does several years after that event. It may be urged that its omission was natural, as no inscription records the defeats of the inscripitor. But we should take into consideration the fact that Lakṣmaṇasena is herein rightly praised as a valiant king who had raised three victory columns at Allahabad, Benares, and Jagannāth, and that Keśavasena was still a powerful king ruling in eastern Bengal. It is certain that the descendants of Lakṣmaṇasena ruled in Eastern Bengal for a long time after the event. It is even possible that Nadia may have been attacked after the death of Lakṣmaṇasena during the reign of Mādhavasena whose name appears to have been erased from this Bakerganj copper plate (*Ibid.*, p. 42). We, therefore, think that if we put the two records together, the reasonable inference would be that Bengal fell after resistance, and not as ignominiously as depicted in the account.

Even if it be conceded that the story in the *Tabaqat* represents facts, they should be seen in connection with their particular setting. In the first place, it must be noted that Nadia was not the chief capital of the Senas. It was a newly made Brāhmaṇa settlement and Lakṣmaṇasena resided there only occasionally. The guards at the palace must have been few and the army in the city only nominal. Secondly, a sudden raid on such a place is not impracticable. Indeed such raids are often recorded in history. Alauddin made such a sudden and wily raid on Devagiri in the Deccan. A hundred years later, Shahabuddin Ghorī was surprised in his tent on the eastern bank of the Indus by a few Ghakkars who by eluding the guards reached the place through water and murdered Shahabuddin. Thirdly, to escape from such an attack and start fresh resistance from a new capital was not at all dishonourable but on the other hand proper and creditable. This was what Rājyapāla of Kanauj or Bhīma of Gujarat did against Mahmud, or Rajaram did against Aurangzib. And this is what is done in modern days. They give up the attacked capital and making another town the base of operations carry on the resistance from there. This is exactly what Lakṣmaṇasena and his descendants appear to have done. They established themselves at Vikramapura and appeared to have ruled for nearly a century more in Eastern Bengal, continuing their resistance to the Muhammadans. The *Tabaqat* records that when Nasiruddin marched against Lakhnauti, the Khilji had marched his forces from Lakhnauti "with the intention of entering the territory of Bang" meaning against the Sena king. Why such resistance eventually failed to re-establish the Hindu power not only in Bengal but also in the other parts of Northern India is a problem, which we shall attempt to solve by a later opportunity.



## Rasātala or the Under-World

( *A forgotten country* )

Is Rasātala a myth, a creation of the poet's brain ? Have the seven spheres of Rasātala below the earth been invented as a counterpart of the seven *Lokas* or worlds<sup>1</sup> above the earth. The name of Rasātala, or its synonym Pātāla, occurs in almost all the ancient Hindu works of importance, professing or pretending to give an account of historical events of ancient times. If Rasātala be an idle phantasm or a mere figment of the poet's imagination, the writers of different periods would not have tried to keep it alive. Rasātala has been peopled with serpents, demons, birds, and animals, invested with the physical and mental qualities of a human being. Śeṣa Nāga, the king of the serpents, is described<sup>2</sup> as seated upon a throne with all the paraphernalia of royalty about him. His head is bedecked with a crown, his ears have pendants, and his arms extend up to his knees. He is clothed in black, and has, on his two sides, attendants waving the fly-whisks. He is also surrounded by his ministers and courtiers. He does not hiss, but talks like a human being, and talks wisdom like a veritable Veda-Vyāsa<sup>3</sup>. There were demons fearless, warlike, and generous. Bali, for instance, was so generous that he gave everything he possessed to the poor and the Brāhmaṇas<sup>4</sup>. They lived in cities, which in beauty could vie with any "city of heaven", containing houses, gardens and palaces ; and Hiranyapura, the capital of the Daityas has been described as

1 *Padma Purāṇa*, Sṛṣṭi-Khaṇḍa, ch. 22 :—*Bhūloko'tha Bhuvar-lokaḥ Svarloko'tha Mahar Janah Tapah Satyañca Saptaita Devalokāḥ prakīrtitāḥ.*

2 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 82.

3 *Padma P.*, Pātāla-kh., ch. 1.

4 *Harivaṃśa*, ch. 220.

looking beautiful with roads and gateways specially prepared by Brahmā for the Dānavas<sup>1</sup>. The demons did not wander in forests and live in caves like the primitive man, but they possessed various amenities of civilisation. The Suparṇa (or Garuḍa) birds were human beings to all intents and purposes, except for their beaks and wings<sup>2</sup>. The Surabhis or the cow-tribe lived in Rasātala, and they could speak like human beings and prophesy future events<sup>3</sup>. In spite of paucity of information we have enough evidence to conclude that Rasātala is a reminiscence of a primeval age when the Indo-Aryans lived with the Iranians in their ancient home in Central Asia called Ariana by Strabo, which is the Airyana-vīja of the *Avesta*<sup>4</sup>. This Airyana-vīja, which means the "Aryan seed," is evidently Azerbaijan or Azerbijan which was originally a province of ancient Media or "mad", as it was called the Uttara (north) Madra of the Purāṇas, and now a province of Persia. The river Daitya which flowed through it is the river Aras which divided Media from Armenia. Some authorities consider Media to be the original home of the Aryans.<sup>5</sup> Herodotus also says, "These Medes were called in ancient times by all people Arians<sup>6</sup>." Azerbaijan and the countries to the north were therefore known as Ārya of the Ṛg-veda and Hara of the Bible. In later times, the boundaries of Ariana were extended to the north of the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes, and on the east, as far as the Indus<sup>7</sup>, by conquest from the Scythians or Hunnic tribes who belonged to the

1 *Mahābhārata*, Vana Parva, ch. 172. 2 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 100.

3 *Ibid.*, Udyoga, ch. 101; *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 21.

4 "The first of the good lands and countries, which I, Ahura Mazda, created, was Airyana-Vīja by the good river Daitya" *Vendidad*, ch. 1; see *Sacred Books of the East*, vol. IV, p. 4; Max Müller's *Science of Language* (1873), vol. I, p. 227.

5 Dwight's *Modern Philology*, vol. I, p. 30.

6 *History of Herodotus*, translated by Rawlinson, vol. II, p. 145.

7 Hamilton and Falconer's *Geography of Strabo*, vol. III, p. 119 (Bk. XV, ch. II, 1).



Turanian race. There can be no doubt that either difference of opinion about religious matters perhaps when the schism regarding the supremacy of Varuṇa in the hierarchy of the gods originated as indicated by the promiscuous application of the words Sura and Asura to Varuṇa in the earlier portions of the R̥g-veda<sup>1</sup>, or the frequent inroads and depredations of the neighbouring barbarous tribes, or perhaps both, impelled the Indo-Aryans, the ancestors of the Hindus and the Pārsis, to migrate to the Punjab in India. They brought with them the memory of these invasions, wars, and oppressions, to which they were frequently subjected by the barbarous tribes surrounding the place where they lived with the Iranians. Daityas, Dānavas, Asuras, and Nāgas<sup>2</sup> are mentioned in the works of the Vedic period and in subsequent works down to the latest Purāṇa. Though the word "Rasātala" does not appear in the Vedas, yet the word must have been handed down by oral tradition, like the hymns of the Vedas, as the abode of the people called "Demons" and "Serpents". The word *Rasā* appears in the R̥g-veda<sup>3</sup>, and the word *Rasātala* in the Rāmāyaṇa<sup>4</sup>. In the latter work, it is described as the abode of the Daityas, Dānavas, Surabhi cows, and Nāgas (Serpents) situated below the earth. But though placed below the earth, Rasātala does not appear then to have been divided into seven spheres, but the Rāmāyaṇa describes it as a flat country containing cities, palaces, lakes and mountains. In the Mahābhārata<sup>5</sup> and in subsequent works, we see it divided into seven spheres. The story of Rasātala has a substratum of truth, around which, has grown up a body of

1 *R̥g-veda*, IV, 42; viii, 51, 9; Macdonell's *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 119.

2 For Nāgas, see *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, II, 2, 7, 12; *Āśvalāyana Gr̥hya Sūtra*, iii, 41.

3 *R̥g-veda*, I, 112, 12; V, 53, 9; X, 75, 6.

4 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 24, 25.

5 *Mahābhārata*, Udyoga, ch 101 :—*Idaṃ Rasātalaṃ nāma sapta-  
maṃ pṛthivītalaṃ yatrāste Surabhir mātā gavām amṛtasambhavā.*

fiction in course of time. The real signification of the word has been lost, and the facts and concepts connected with the country and its people have been forgotten. A whole country has been turned into a visionary land peopled by creatures of fantastic shapes, and uncouth descriptions.

The lexicographical meaning of Rasātala is *adhobhuvana* that is "below the world". The place has evidently been divided into seven spheres in imitation of the seven spheres above the earth peopled by beings of different descriptions.

But in order to ascertain which country was meant by Rasātala, we must examine the word itself. *Rasātala* consists of two words *Rasā* and *Tala*. *Rasā* is mentioned in the *R̥g-veda*<sup>1</sup> as the name of a river. It is the same as the *Raṅghā* of the *Avesta* which has been identified by Profs. Keith and Macdonell with the *Jaxartes*<sup>2</sup>. This identification is correct, as *Rasā* is evidently a corruption of *Araxes*, the classical name of the *Jaxartes*. Its identification with the *Indus* by Windischmann does not appear to be correct, as the river *Indus* was too well-known at the time of the *R̥g-veda*<sup>3</sup> by the name *Sindhu* to be called by the name *Rasā*. The word *Tala* is the Sanskritised form of *Tele* which is another name for the Huns. Dr. J. J. Modi in his *Early History of the Huns* says, "the Huns were called *Te-le* or *Til-le*"<sup>4</sup>. The compound word *Rasātala* therefore means the country on the banks of the *Jaxartes* where the Huns resided. According to the Hindu works *Rasātala* has both a general and specific signification. In its general

1 *R̥gveda*, I, 112, 12; V, 53, 9; X 75, 6.

2 *Vedic Index*, Vol. II, p. 209; *S. B. E.*, Vol. IV, p. 3; Vambery's *History of Bokhara*, p. 5.

3 *R̥gveda*, i, 122, 6; iv, 54, 6; iv, 55, 3; x, 64, 9.

4 *JBBRAS.*, vol. xxiv (1916-17), p. 565. Instead of *Til-le* Deguignes has *Tie-le* in his *Histoire des Huns*, Tome ii, p. 282. *Til-le* therefore is a typographical mistake for *Tie-le*.



sense it means the whole region called "Rasātala" which is below the earth, and in its specific sense it means one of the seven spheres into which it is divided. As *Rasā* means the *world*, Rasātala in its general sense means the "world" or the country of the Huns, that is Tartary or Central Asia, including Turkestan ; and as the name of a particular "sphere" or province of that country, it is the valley of the Jaxartes where the Huns resided. There can be no doubt that Rasātala originally meant the country of the Huns.

The identification of Rasātala with Central Asia, including Tartary and Turkestan, is confirmed by the very works which place it below the earth. The *Rāmāyaṇa*<sup>1</sup> says that Rāvaṇa after conquering the Nāgas and Dānavas of Rasātala, emerged through the very hole through which he had entered it, and passed the night on the Sumeru mountain ; in other words, Rasātala was close to the Sumeru mountain. The

Confirma-  
tory evidence  
from the  
Hindu  
works.

*Mahābhārata*<sup>2</sup> and the *Matsya Purāṇa*<sup>3</sup> distinctly say that Meru or Sumeru mountain is in Śākadvīpa. It is also stated in the *Mahābhārata*<sup>4</sup> that Garuḍa, who lived in Pātāla, having caught an elephant and a tortoise with his nails, wanted to eat them, and accordingly sat upon the branch of a Vāṭa tree (*Ficus Indica*). The branch broke. Some Bālakhilya (pigmy) ṛṣis were performing asceticism on that branch. In order to save the lives of those ṛṣis, Garuḍa took up the branch with his beak and flew to the Gandhamādana mountain where his father Kaśyapa was performing asceticism to ask his advice regarding a suitable place where he could eat the elephant and the tortoise with convenience. At the intercession of Kaśyapa the pigmy ṛṣis left the branch on the Gandhamādana mountain and went to perform asceticism on the Himālaya. Śeṣa, the king of the Nāgas, also started on a pilgrimage from Gandhamādana, and then visited Badarikāśrama in the

1 *Rāmāyaṇa*, Uttara, chs. 24, 25      2 *Mbh.*, Bhīṣma, ch. II.

3 *Matsya P.*, ch. 121.      4 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 30 ; Udyoga, ch. 100.

Himalaya<sup>1</sup>. The Harivaṃśa also places Rasātala near the Gandhamādāna and the Mandāra mountains<sup>2</sup>. The western portion of the Himālaya from Garwal was called by the name of Gandhamādāna ; hence Gandhamādāna and the Himālaya were situated to the east of Sumeru Parvata, and there can be no doubt that Gandhamādāna was connected with the Sumeru mountain, which, as stated before, is in Śākadvīpa or Scythia, as one of its seven principal mountains. The Matsya Purāṇa<sup>3</sup> also says that Sumeru Parvata was bounded on the west by Ketumāla-varṣa, and according to the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa, the Sakas or the Scythians resided in Ketumāla-varṣa<sup>4</sup>. Sumeru therefore is the Hindukush mountain, the Mount Meros of Arrian<sup>5</sup> situated near Mount Nysa of Niṣāda Parvata of the Purāṇas and Paropamisus of the Greeks<sup>6</sup>. Rasātala consequently must have been situated on the north and west of the Hindukush mountain, that is, it comprised the valleys of the Oxus and the Jaxartes.

The seven spheres into which Rasātala is divided are :  
 Atala, Vitala, Nitala, Talātala, Mahātala, Sutala, and Rasātala. Rasātala being the country of the Huns, it is natural that its seven 'spheres' or provinces should be named after the names of the Huns or rather of the tribes which dwelt in them. (1) *A-tala* derived its name from the *A-tele* or A-telites where the Asura named Bala (Belus of Babylon) resided<sup>7</sup> ; (2) *Bi-tala* from *Ab-tele* or *Abi-tele* or Abi-telites, the word *Ab* being a corruption or abbreviation of *Abi-Amu* or the "river Oxus"<sup>8</sup>, and Ab-

1 *Mbh.*, Ādi, ch. 36.

2 *Harivaṃśa*, chs. 218, 219.

3 *Matsya P.*, ch. 112, vs. 42, 43.

4 *Mārkaṇḍeya P.*, ch. 59.

5 McCrindle's *Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, pp. 179, 180.

6 Lassen's *History traced from Bactrian and Indo-Scythian Coins in JA SB.*, 1840, p. 469 note.

7 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.

8 *Geography of Strabo*, Vol. I, p. 113, note 4 ; *JBBRAS.*, Vol XXIV, p. 565.



tele means the Huns who lived on the shores of the Oxus. As the river Hātakī<sup>1</sup> or the Zarafshan, which is said to have its source in the Fan-tau mountain to the east of Samarkand near the Great Pamir, is in *Bi-tala*, it must have appertained to Transoxiana (*Māvar-ul-Nahr*) and formed a part of the kingdom of Bokhara. (3) *Ni-tala* from the *Neph-tele* or Neph-telites. In the *Bhāgavata*<sup>2</sup>, the word *Pātāla* (the *Pātāla-tala* of the *Devī-Bhāgavata*) has been used for *Ni-tala*, and therefore the 'sphere' *Pātāla* was the same as *Ni-tala*. *Pātālapura* was originally the name of *Aśma* or *Oxiana*, the capital of *Sogdiana* as we shall hereafter show. (4) *Talā-tala* is from the *To-charis*. The *Asura Maya* (*Ahura Mazda* of the *Avesta*), the Spiritual Guide of the *Māyāvins*, dwelt in this sphere<sup>3</sup>. *Māyā* and *Māyāvins* are the same as *Maga*<sup>4</sup> and *Magii* (the followers of the Zoroastrian religion). 'Maya' is a corruption of 'maga' or 'magus' who represents *Ahura Mazda* the architect of the universe, and hence *Maya* was the architect of the *Asuras*. The *Magii* were the "Śākadvīpī *Brāhmaṇas* brought to India by Śāmba<sup>5</sup> from Scythia. The *Mahā-bhārata*<sup>6</sup> mentions that the *Brāhmaṇas* of Śākadvīpa dwelt in *Mṛga*, which has been identified with *Margiana*, the country around *Merv*<sup>7</sup>. This sphere therefore comprised *Margiana*.

(To be continued)

NUNDO LAL DE

1 *Bhāgavata*, V, ch. 24.

2 *Bhāgavata*, V, 24, 7 :—*Atalaṃ Vitalaṃ Sutalaṃ Talātalaṃ Mahātalaṃ Rasātalaṃ Pātālamiti*.

3 *Ibid.*, V, 24 ; VII, 10, 53 :—*Māvinām Paramācāryaṃ Mayam śaraṇamāyayuh*.

4 *Kūrma P.*, Pūrva kh., ch. 49 :—*Magāśca Magadhāścaiva mānasā mandagūstathā brāhmaṇaḥ ksatriyo vaiśyaḥ Śūdraścātra krameṇa tu*.

5 *Bhaviṣya P.*, *Brahma Parva*, chs. 73ff.

6 *Mbh.*, *Bhīṣma*, ch. 11.

7 Rawlinson's *Five Great Monarchies*, vol. IV, pp. 25, 26 note : Bretschneider's *Mediæval Researches*, vol. II, p. 103.

## The Kośālas in Ancient India

In the earliest Vedic literature, the Ṛgveda, or the other Saṃhitās, no mention is made of Kośāla as the name of a people. It is only in some of the later Vedic works, the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, and the Kalpasūtras that we find Kośāla as one of the countries in Vedic aryandom. Kośāla is also mentioned in the Pāli Buddhist

References in  
early literature.

literature as one of the sixteen great countries (mahājana-padas) of Jambudīpa<sup>1</sup>, or India. Pāṇini too in one of his sūtras (iv. 1. 17) mentions Kośāla. In the Atthasālinī, (P. T. S., p. 305) Buddhaghosa's commentary on the Dhammasaṅgani, mention is made of the Kośālas as one of the great kṣatriya tribes in Buddha's time. Kośāla is mentioned as a beautiful place, attractive, pleasant, full of ten kinds of noise, rice, food, drink, etc. It was large, prosperous, wealthy and rich like Alakanandā of the devas<sup>2</sup>.

In Buddha's time Kośāla was a powerful kingdom in Northern India but it had already been eclipsed by the growing power of Magadha<sup>3</sup>.

Kośāla lay to the east of the Kurus and Pañcālas, and to the west of the Videhas from whom it was separated by the river Sadānīrā, probably the great Gaṇḍak<sup>4</sup>. According to Drs. Macdonell and Keith, Kośāla lay to the north-east of the Ganges and corresponds roughly to the modern Oudh<sup>5</sup>. According to Mr. Rapson, Kośāla formed a kingdom lying to the east of Pañcāla and to the west of Videha. It is the modern province of Oudh in the United Provinces<sup>6</sup>. In the Cambridge History of India (Vol. 1, p. 178) we read that the northern frontier of Kośāla must have been in the hills in what is now Nepal; its southern boundary was the Ganges; and its eastern boundary was the eastern limit of the Śākian territory. According to Prof. Rhys Davids, the Kośālas were the ruling clan in

- 1 Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. IV, p. 256; cf. Viṣṇupurāṇa, ch. IV, Aṃśa 4.  
2 Khuddakapāṭha commentary, pp. 110-111; cf. Papañcasūdanī (P. T. S.) Vol. 1, pp. 59-60.  
3 Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, pp. 308-9.  
4 Ibid., p. 308.  
5 Vedic Index, Vol. 1, p. 190.  
6 Rapson, Ancient India, p. 164; Cambridge History of India, Vol. 1, p. 117.



the kingdom whose capital was Sāvattī, in what is now Nepal, 70 miles north-west of the modern Gorakhpur. He thinks that it included Benares and Sāketa, and probably had the Ganges for its southern boundary, the Gaṇḍak for its eastern boundary and the mountains for its northern boundary<sup>1</sup>. Buddhaghōṣa, the great commentator of many of the books of the Pāli canon, narrates an anecdote giving a fanciful origin of the name of Kośala. He says in his commentary on the Dīgha Nikāya, the Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, that the country inhabited by the Kośala princes was technically called Kośala. In ancient times, prince Mahāpanāda of this country (i. e. Kośala) was very grave and did not smile. The king tried to make him smile and proclaimed that he would offer a great reward to the person who would be able to bring a smile on the prince's face. Many from among the subjects of his kingdom came to the capital in order to win the reward but all their efforts were in vain. At last the god Indra sent his own nāṭakaṃ (dramatical party) to make him smile and it became successful. Then the people who had flocked to the court to make the prince smile began to return home. The relatives and friends of the people seeing them on the way after a long time asked them, "kacci bho kusalam, kacci bho kusalam" (Are you all right ?). From the word 'kusalam', the country came to be called 'Kośala' (Sumaṅgalavilāsinī, I, 239).

In the Cambridge History of India<sup>2</sup>, we read that the Kośalans were almost certainly, in the main at least, of the Aryan race. Further, the Kośalans belonged to the solar family and were derived directly from Manu through Ikṣvāku. A family of princes bearing this name is known from the Vedic literature and it is quite possible that the solar dynasties of Kośala and other kingdoms to the east of the middle country were descended from this family. If so, Ikṣvāku must be regarded as an eponymous ancestor; and as his superhuman origin had to be explained, a myth founded on a far-fetched etymology of his name was invented. Ikṣvāku was so called because he was born from the sneeze of Manu<sup>3</sup>. The Vedic literature points out that the Ikṣvākus were originally a branch of the Pūrus. They were kings of Kośala<sup>4</sup>.

1 Buddhist India, p. 25.

2 Vol. I, p. 190.

3 Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 303.

4 Ibid., p. 308.

In the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa (i, 4, 11) the Kośala-Videhas appear as falling later than the Kuru-Pañcālas under the influence of Brāhmaṇism. The river Sadānīrā forms the boundary between the peoples, Kośala and Videha. In the same work (XIII, 5, 4, 4), the Kośala in the Brahmana period. Kauśalya or Kośala king Para-aṭnāra Hirāṇyanābha is described as having performed the great Aśvamedha sacrifice. A passage in the Śāṅkhyāyana Śrauta Sūtra (XV, I, 9, 13) shows the connection of Kośala with Kāśī and Videha. In the Praśna Upaniṣad (VI, 1), Āśvalāyana who was very probably a descendant of Aśvala, the hotṛ priest of Videha, is called a Kauśalya.

It is in the Epic period that Kośala emerges into great importance. The scene of action of the Rāmāyaṇa is in Kośala, the princes of which country carry Aryan civilisation to the south as far as the island of Ceylon. Kośala in the Epic period. Mr. Pargiter points out that it is remarkable that in the Rāmāyaṇa the friendliest relations of Kośala were with the eastern kingdoms of Videha, Aṅga and Magadha, the Punjab kingdoms of Kekaya, Sindhu and Sauvīra, the western kingdom of Surāṣṭra and the Dākṣiṇātya kings, for these are especially named among the kings who were invited for Daśaratha's sacrifice and no mention is made of any of the kings of the middle region of Northern India except Kāśī<sup>1</sup>. Mr. Pargiter is of opinion that it was under King Dilīpa II and his immediate descendants, that the country had acquired the name of Kośala<sup>2</sup>.

In the Ādiparva of the Mahābhārata we read that Janamejaya, one of the earliest kings of the Paurava family, was the son of Pūru and Kauśalyā. Most probably this Kauśalyā was the daughter of a king of Kośala (Ch. 95, p. 105). When Yudhiṣṭhira was going to perform the great Rājasūya sacrifice setting himself up as the paramount sovereign over the whole of northern India, and his brothers went out on their expeditions of conquest all over the country, it is said that Arjuna, Kṛṣṇa and Bhīma started from the Kuru kingdom and reached Mithilā after crossing pūrva (eastern) Kośala (Sabhāparva, Ch. 25, p. 240). Afterwards the second Pāṇḍava brother, Bhīmasena conquered Brhadbala, king of Kośala (Sabhāparva, Ch. 30, pp. 241-242), and this Brhadbala, king of Kośala, attended the Rājasūya yajña (Ibid., Ch 34, p. 245). Karṇa conquered Kośala and after exacting tribute

<sup>1</sup> Ancient Indian Historical Tradition, p. 276.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., p. 275.



from the country, proceeded southwards (Vanaparva, Ch. 253, p. 513). Evidently this conquest of Kośala by Karna was subsequent in date to that by Bhīmasena, inasmuch as we find the Kośala king, Brāhmbala led by Duryodhana marched against the Pāṇḍavas (Udyogaparva, Ch. 97, p. 807). Perhaps it was also because the Kośalas were smarting under the defeat inflicted on them by Bhīmasena that they embraced the Kaurava side in the great war. We find, moreover, that in the Kurukṣetra war, ten warriors including Brāhmbala of Kośala, were fighting in the van of the Kuru army (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 16, pp. 827-828), so that he was recognised as one of the leading heroes on that side. Brāhmbala, king of Kośala, fought with Abhimanyu (Bhīṣmaparva, Ch. 45, p. 916), against whom the greatest leaders of the Kuru army led an united attack. King Duryodhana protected the army of Śakuni when the latter was hard pressed by the Pāṇḍavas with the help of the Kośalas and others. (Ibid, Ch. 57, pp. 924-925). Brāhmbala, king of Kośala, marched with the army of Tripura, Viṇḍa and others in the Kurukṣetra war. (Ibid., Ch. 87, p. 957). In the Karna-parva we read that Brāhmbala was killed by Abhimanyu (Ch. 5, pp. 1167-1168). Sukṣetra, who was the son of the king of Kośala, also fought in the great war between the Kurus and Pāṇḍavas (Droṇaparva, Ch. 22, pp. 1012-1013). After the Great War was ended, we find that Kośala was again attacked and conquered by Arjuna before the performance of the Aśvamedha by Yudhiṣṭhira (Aśvamedhaparva, Ch. 42, p. 2093).

About the extent of the Kośala country in the Epic period we may form some idea from the account furnished by the story of the exile of Rāma. Therein we find that after setting out from Ayodhyā, the Kośala capital, the young princes accompanied by Sītā proceeded in a chariot from the capital so that, as Mr. Pargiter points out (JRAS., 1894, p. 234), there must have been good roads in the Kośala country. This is also corroborated by the accounts in the Jātaka stories where we find that merchants loading as many as five hundred waggons with their merchandise marched from Magadha and the Licchavi countries through Kośala up to the western and north-western frontiers of India. Rāma on his march away from Ayodhyā was followed by a large concourse of citizens until he reached the river Tamasā where he made the first halt in the journey. To get rid of the citizens he had his chariot yoked at night and after crossing the Tamasā or the modern Tons, and reaching the other bank he directed his course northwards in order to mislead the citizens who

Extent of the  
Kośala country  
in Epic times,

would no doubt follow him in the morning. The Rāmāyaṇa adds that on the other side of the Tamasā, Rāma's chariot reached the mahāmārga or the great road which was evidently a trade-route. Following this they reached the river Srīmatī Mahānadī and passed through the Kośala country. After crossing the river Vedaśruti he turned his course towards the south. After proceeding a long distance he crossed the Gomatī and the Syandikā. After crossing the latter river Rāma pointed out to Sitā the wide plain given by Manu to the originator of the family, Ikṣvāku. This region was evidently considered by the Kośala people as the cradle of the race, the country with which Ikṣvāku began his career of conquest. This country is said to be highly prosperous (sphītā) and also very populous (rāṣṭra-vṛtā). Proceeding through the extensive Kośala plains (viśālān Kośalān yātvā), he left behind him the Kośala regions (Kośalān atyavartata) and reached the Ganges up to which river evidently the Kośala dominion extended. Here he arrived at Śṛṅgaverapura which was the seat of the Niṣāda king Guha who was evidently the chief of a non-Aryan settlement. Here he sent back the chariot, and crossing the Ganges at this place, the party entered the forest. Sir Alexander Cunningham has identified Śṛṅgaverapura with the modern Singror or Singor on the left bank of the Ganges and 22 miles to the north-west of Prayāga or Allahabad (Arch. Survey Report, Vols. XI, 62 and XXI, 11). [For further geography of Rāma's exile, see Pargiter, JRAS., 1894, p. 231ff].

As in the Epics, so also in the Purāṇas, the Kośalas are given very great prominence among the aryan Kṣatriya tribes of northern India. We have already referred to the Paurāṇic legend about the origin of the Kośala royal family from Ikṣvāku, the great eponymous ancestor born from the sneeze of Manu, the son of the Sun-god. All the Purāṇas agree in giving this etymological derivation of the name of the great king to whom is traced the origin of many of the ruling dynasties of eastern India including that of the Śākya of Kapilavastu.

The Kośala line of kings derived from Ikṣvāku produced, according to the account given by the Purāṇas and the Epics, a large number of sovereigns who held up the glory of the family very high, and some of them, like Māndhātā, Sagara, Bhagīratha, and Raghu occupied the highest position amongst the kings of ancient India, so that a short study of this family of great kings is well worth our attention,

Ikṣvāku is credited by most of the Purāṇas (e.g. Viṣṇu-purāṇa,

Kośala in the  
post Epic  
period.



IV, 2, 3 ; Vāyu-purāṇa, 88, 8-11) with a large number of sons who divided the whole of India among themselves. The Viṣṇu-purāṇa says that Ikṣvāku had a hundred sons of whom fifty with Śakuni at their head became the protectors of northern India (Uttarāpatha-rakṣitāraḥ) and forty-eight established themselves as rulers over southern India (Dakṣiṇāpatha bhūpālāḥ)<sup>1</sup>. The Vāyu-purāṇa says that it was not the sons of Ikṣvāku who divided the country among themselves but that it was the children of Ikṣvāku's son Vikukṣi who set themselves up as rulers in Uttarāpatha and Dakṣiṇāpatha. This slight discrepancy, however, is immaterial, and though the number given of Ikṣvāku's immediate descendants is certainly fanciful, yet it seems worthy of credence that the family sprung from Ikṣvāku spread their rule far and wide over India, as many of the ruling families of India trace their descent to him.

The Bhāgavata-purāṇa furnishes greater details about the different parts of India where the sons of Ikṣvāku set up their rule. It states that of the hundred sons of Ikṣvāku, twenty-five established themselves as kings in the front portion, that is, in the eastern districts of Āryāvarta and an equal number in the hind portion, that is, in the west ; two settled in the central region or the Madhyadeśa and the rest in other parts of the country ; these are no doubt the forty-eight who became kings in Dakṣiṇāpatha according to the Vāyu- and Viṣṇu-purāṇas, so that these three purāṇas are quite in agreement with regard to this point.

About the next king Vikukṣi we are told by the purāṇas that he had earned the displeasure of his father, Ikṣvāku, by the violation of some ceremonial rule and hence was forsaken by the latter but after his death Vikukṣi ascended the throne and reigned over the country according to law and custom (dharmataḥ). It is said of Parañjaya, the next king, that his aid was sought for by the Devas who were hard pressed by the Asuras ; but the king imposed a condition that he would do so if borne in the fight on the shoulders of Indra himself. The Devas had to submit and the king thus obtained the name of Kakutstha. Most probably the mythical story was invented afterwards to furnish a plausible derivation for the name.

Sixth in descent from Kakutstha was king Śrāvasta the founder of the city of Śrāvastī<sup>2</sup> which afterwards became the capital of

<sup>1</sup> Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2, 3.

<sup>2</sup> Śrāvastāḥ yāḥ śrāvastīm purīm nivesayāmāsa (Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2, 12).

northern Kōśala. Śrāvasta's grandson, Kuvalayāśva, is credited with the overthrowing of an Asura, Dhundhu, which however, seems to signify the control of a natural phenomenon. According to the account given in the Purāṇas and the Mahābhārata (Vanaparva, Chs. 201-203) the Ṛṣi Utaṅka complained to the king Bṛhadaśva, the son of Śrāvasta, that his hermitage which was situated in the sands on the sea-coast in the west, was disturbed by the Asura, Dhundhu, who from a subterranean retreat (*antarbhūmi-gataḥ*) caused him much trouble. From time to time when the Asura gave out his breath, the earth trembled, dust clouds were raised and sometimes the tremor of the earth continued for a week accompanied by the throwing out of smoke, sparks and flames, and on account of this it had become very difficult for him to stay at his hermitage and he prayed the king for relief from this source of trouble. It is manifest that the subterranean Asura that troubled the Ṛṣi Utaṅka was nothing but a small volcanic pit near the western sea-coast which occasionally caused earthquakes and emitted smoke, ashes and fire. The old king Bṛhadaśva sent his son Kuvalayāśva to destroy this Asura and the method that this prince adopted for the purpose leaves no doubt that it was a volcanic outburst that he went to control. The prince went to the spot with an army of twenty-one thousand men, who are said to be his sons whom he set to dig up the earth all round. After the excavation had proceeded for a week, the flaming body of Dhundhu became visible to all but with disastrous consequences to the thousands of soldiers ("sons of the king" as the Purāṇa tells us), who perished in the smoke and flames, only three surviving. The excavation, however, appears to have opened a subterranean channel or reservoir of water which rushing into the volcanic pit served to extinguish it for ever, for we are told by the Epic and the Purāṇas, that after Dhundhu had reduced to ashes the twenty-one thousand sons of Kuvalayāśva, streams of water flowed out of his body and the king is credited with having put down the fire by means of the water<sup>1</sup> and acquired the appellation of Dhundhumāra for this achievement.

A few generations after Kuvalayāśva, there was born in this royal family, the great monarch Māndhātā, who according to the Paurāṇic accounts, exercised imperial sway over the whole of the

Vajñe Śrāvastako rājā Śrāvastī yena nirmitā (Vāyupurāṇa lxxxviii, xxvii).

1 Vāyupurāṇa, chap. lxxxviii.



earth with the seven divisions or islands and became a *Cakravartin* or emperor exercising suzerain sway<sup>1</sup>. In Māndhātā's dominions, it is said, the sun never set : a verse (śloka) is quoted by the Purāṇas themselves as being recited by those versed in traditionary lore (Paurāṇikā dvijāḥ)—“From where the sun rises to where he stops, all this is the land (kṣetra) of Māndhātā, the son of Yuvanāśva”<sup>2</sup>. As in the cases of Ikṣvāku and Kakutstha, fanciful stories based on a literal derivation of the name are narrated in the Purāṇas which state that the name Māndhātā was due to what Indra said (Māṃdhātā “he will suck me”) when this prince was born. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa adds that Māndhātā also acquired the designation of Trasadasyu on account of the fear that he struck into the minds of the Dasyus. Māndhātā is said to have given his daughters in marriage to the Ṛṣi Sauvari. Purukutsa, one of the sons of Māndhātā, is said to have married a girl of the Nāgas who being much troubled by some Gandharva tribes sought for his help and the Nāga princess by her supplications took her husband to the Nāga country (Nāgaloka and had the Gandharvas defeated by him. The Nāgas who were evidently some non-Aryan tribes are often confounded by the Purāṇas with snakes.

Trasadasyu was begot on this Nāga queen and ascended his father's throne on the death of the latter. Trasadasyu's son, Anaraṇya, is said to have been killed by Rāvaṇa when the latter went out on his expedition of conquest. This is hardly possible if we take Rāvaṇa as a historical personage, inasmuch as this ruler of the Rākṣasa tribes was a contemporary of Rāma Dāśarathin who lived many generations after Anaraṇya.

Several generations after this, from the Kośala king Trayyāruṇa was born a prince Satyavrata who for three acts of violence was condemned by his father as well as by Vasiṣṭha, the family priest and was given the name of Triśaṅku. Vasiṣṭha's rival Viśvāmitra, however, embraced his cause, placed him on the throne of Kośala and sent him to heaven. Triśaṅku's son Hariścandra became a very great monarch of the Kośalas : he celebrated a Rājasūya sacrifice and became famous as a *Samrāt* or Emperor (Vāyupurāṇa, chap. 88, verse. 118). The story as to how Hariścandra promised to sacrifice his son to god Varuṇa and at last Śunahsepa, a brāhmaṇa

1 Vāyupurāṇa lxxxviii, lxviii ; Viṣṇupurāṇa, iv, 2.

2 Viṣṇupurāṇa iv, 2, xviii.

lad, was offered in his stead is told in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, evidently taking it from the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa where the events are narrated at great length. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa also adds that there was a long-standing quarrel between Vasiṣṭha and Viśvāmitra over this Kośala king Hariścandra. The Mahābhārata (iii, ch. 12) also speaks of the surpassing glories of king Hariścandra of Kośala; at the court of Indra, he was the only rājarṣi who was entitled to sit, as he was a very powerful *Samrāt* to whom all the rulers of the earth had to bow down, and who had by his own arms brought under his sway the whole of the earth with its seven islands. He celebrated the Rājasūya sacrifice on a grand scale distributing the immense treasure that he had accumulated by his prowess and after the Rājasūya was completed he was installed in the sovereignty of the earth as a *Samrāt* by the thousands of kings assembled. Nārada who gives this account to Yudhiṣṭhira urges him to try to rival the glories of this great monarch inasmuch as his father Pāṇḍu seeing Nārada come down to earth had asked him to urge Yudhiṣṭhira to do so. He was so highly respected as a magnanimous donor that a saying of his is quoted in the Anuśāsanaparva of the Mahābhārata (xiii, 65), and his great sacrifices are referred to (XII, 20) including the one in which Śunaḥśepa figured (XIII, 3). In the lists of the ancient kings of India who exercised imperial sway over India, the name of Hariścandra recurs in the Purāṇas and the Epics.

With Vāhu who came to the Kośala throne several generations after the *Samrāt* Hariścandra, the Kośala power suffered a great reverse. Vāhu was defeated by his enemies, the confederacy of the Haihayas, Tālajaṅghas and other allied kṣatriya tribes and was forced to abdicate his throne. He repaired to the forest where after his death his wife bore a son who was reared and brought up with great care by the ṛṣi Aurva near whose hermitage the king had taken refuge and built his woodland home.

This young prince had the making of a great king in him and when come of age he sought to revive the glories of Kośala and place it again in the high position of a suzerain power in India. This was the great Sagara who almost exterminated the Haihayas and it is said that foreign tribes living on the frontiers of India were so hard pressed by the prowess of this young hero that they sought the protection of Sagara's family preceptor, Vasiṣṭha, at whose request the young Kośala monarch desisted from their extermination on which he was bent. Then the story is told in the Purāṇas



how he got one son Asamañjas by one of his queens and sixty thousand sons by another. Asamañjas was abandoned by his father on account of his bad conduct. Sagara employed the sixty thousand sons to defend against all aggressors the horse of the Aśvamedha in its unbridled career over the earth. The sacrificial horse was secreted by some one at the hermitage of the ṛṣi Kapila down below the earth in Pātāla. Sagara's sons looking about for it could not find it anywhere on earth and then dug up a large portion of its surface and at last discovered it at the hermitage of Kapila. This ṛṣi they insulted and as the result they were reduced to ashes by him. Sagara then sent his grandson, Amśumān in quest of the horse; he appeased the wrath of Kapila, succeeded in bringing back the horse and obtained a promise from the ṛṣi that his uncles would be purged of their sins when his grandson would bring down the heavenly Ganges down below to the pit excavated by them. Thus the sacrifice was completed by Sagara who pleased by the achievements of Amśumān looked over the claims of his abandoned son Asamañjas and made over the Kōśāla throne to him.

The grandson of Amśumān was the great Bhagīratha who after ascending the throne made his prowess felt far and wide and became a Cakravartin as the Mahābhārata (iii, 108) tells us. But coming to know of the great duty that devolved upon him of rescuing his ancestors from the evil fate that had overtaken them, he left the government of his vast empire in the hands of his ministers, and the story is well-known how he by the severest penances succeeded in bringing down the divine river from the Himalayas, and thus filled up the pit excavated by his ancestors to form the Sāgara or ocean, and thus the holy stream acquired the designation of the Bhāgīrathī. The Rāmāyaṇa (i. 39-44) gives the story at great length and so does the Mahābhārata (iii. 106-109).

After several great names in the list of Kōśāla sovereigns after Bhagīratha we meet with Ṛtuparṇa who was a contemporary of the celebrated Vidarbha monarch Nala whom he taught the secret art of playing the dice (akṣaḥṛdaya) and acquired from him in exchange the science of training horses. The story is told at great length in the Mahābhārata (iii. 71ff) how the Kōśāla monarch Ṛtuparṇa had employed Nala as his charioteer when the latter was depressed by the reverses of fortune and how the exchange of a knowledge of the sciences was made when Nala as the charioteer of Ṛtuparṇa was carrying him from his capital Ayodhyā to Kuṇḍinapura.

Rtuparṇa's son was Sudāsa who is identified by some with the king of the same name in the Ṛg-Veda. Sudāsa's son was Mitrāsaha Saudāsa who became famous afterwards as Kalmāṣapāda. The story of Kalmāṣapāda is told in the Purāṇas and many other works how he owing to the curse of Vaśiṣṭha became a rākṣasa for twelve years.

Saudāsa's grandson Vālika requires more than a passing notice. It is said in the Purāṇas that when Paraśurāma was carrying out his terrible vow of exterminating the kṣatriyas on the earth, this Vālika was saved from his wrath by being surrounded by a number of naked women and thus became known as *Nārīkavaca*, that is, a person protected by women and as he was the *Mūla* or source from which future generations of kṣatriyas sprang up, he also acquired the designation of Mūlaka.

In the fourth generation after Mūlaka in whom the Kōśala royal family was perpetuated after the general massacre of the kṣatriyas by Paraśurāma, we come to a Kōśala sovereign Khaṭvāṅga whose praises are sung by the Purāṇas. He is spoken of as a *Samrāt* whose great prowess led to his invitation by the gods to help them in their fight with the Asuras and an ancient verse is cited in the Purāṇas saying, "On the earth there will be no one that would equal Khaṭvāṅga in merit inasmuch as on coming back from the regions of the gods and learning that he had only *muhūrta* (about three quarters of an hour) to live, won the three worlds by his good sense and by charity" (Viṣṇu-purāṇa, IV. 4, 39). The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (IX. 9) adds that Khaṭvāṅga, within the remaining short period of his life, devoted himself to the meditation of the supreme spirit with such zeal as to obtain mokṣa. Khaṭvāṅga's grandson was the great Raghu who gave his name to the family, and Raghu's grandson again was Daśaratha, the father of Rāma in whom the glory of the Kōśala royal dynasty reached its culmination, the god Viṣṇu himself has incarnated in him and his three other brothers. It is said that through their regard for these princes, the people residing in the cities and the villages of Kōśala country reached the heaven of Viṣṇu. After Rāma the extensive Kōśala empire is said to have been divided amongst the sons of the four brothers. The sons of the youngest brother Śatrughna ruled at Mathurā which had been established by their father after defeating the rākṣasas. The sons of Lakṣmaṇa established two kingdoms in the far north in the neighbourhood of the Himalayas, while Bharata's sons founded the cities of Takṣaśilā and Puṣkarāvātī in the Gandhāra country



the Vāyu-purāṇa (88, 189-190) tells us. The Kośala country proper is said to have been divided into two. In southern Kośala, Kuśa, the elder of the two sons of Rāma, became king and transferred his capital from Ayodhyā to Kuśasthalī which he built up at the foot of the Vindhya range (Vindhya-parvata-sānuṣu, Vāyu-purāṇa, 88, 198). Lava, the younger, became the ruler of the northern Kośala country and set up his capital at the city of Śārāvati or Śrāvastī which we find to be the seat of the Kośala sovereigns at the time Buddha lived.

Among the kings that followed Kuśa in the main line of the Kośala monarchs we do not meet with any great name until we come to Hiraṇyanābha Kauśalya who is said to have been a disciple of the great ṛṣi Jaimini from whom he learnt the science of Yoga and imparted it in his turn to the great yogin Yājñavalkya (Bhāgavata-purāṇa, IX, 12). This glory of proficiency in the Yogaśāstra is, however, transferred by some of the Purāṇas to Hiraṇyanābha's son, whom the Vāyu-purāṇa calls Vaśiṣṭha (Vāyu, 88, 207-8) and Viṣṇu-purāṇa names Puṣya (Viṣṇu-purāṇa, IV, 4, 48). The fifth in descent from the latter monarch was Maru or Manu who is said to be living in the village of Kalāpa in a state of yoga (meditation) and waiting to be the progenitor of the kṣattriyas in the next cycle. Several generations down from this monarch was Bṛhadbala who led the Kośala troops to the great Kurukṣetra fight and was killed there in the battle by Abhimanyu, the son of Arjuna. To this we have already referred in a previous section. Many of the Purāṇas and their enumeration of the Kośala sovereigns end with Bṛhadbala, while some others like the Bhāgavata add a few more names who are called the future kings of the Ikṣvāku family. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa (IX, 12, 16) observes that the last king of the Ikṣvāku line would be Sumitra and adds that during his reign there will be the advent of the Kaliyuga, and the family will come to an end.

The Vāyu-purāṇa also in a later chapter (Ch. 99) gives a list of the kings in the Ikṣvāku line after Bṛhadbala whom it here calls Bṛhadratha, which is apparently a mistake, because at the end it mentions Bṛhadbala. Five generations after this Bṛhadratha the Vāyu-purāṇa says that Divākara "is at present ruling at the city of Ayodhyā" (Yaśca sāmpratamadhyāste Ayodhyāṃ nagarīm nṛpaḥ) and after Divākara, it speaks of the future kings that will come in the line. This so-called future list comes to a termination with Sumitra and this Purāṇa also like the Bhāgavata quotes a passage which lays down that with the advent of Kaliyuga the family of the Ikṣvākus will come to an

end. The Vāyu-purāṇa list though slightly different is substantially the same as the one in the Bhāgavata, and one peculiar feature of these lists is that they include Śuddhodana and Rāhula in the list of future Ikṣvāku rulers. The kings of the Ikṣvāku line are praised by the Vāyu-purāṇa as "heroic, proficient in learning, established in truth and having their senses under control" (Vāyu-purāṇa, Chs. 99, 291).

The list in the Matsya-purāṇa (Ch. 12) from Kuśa to the Bhārata war is considerably shorter than the lists referred to above and is evidently wrong. It speaks of Śrutaya as the king who fell in the Bhārata war while in most of the Purāṇas, Bṛhadbala is mentioned as the king who did so.

The history of Kośala in later times is known chiefly from Jaina and Buddhist literature. In the Jaina Kalpasūtra we read that on the death of Mahāvīra, the eighteen confederate kings of Kāśī and Kośala, the nine Mallakis and nine Licchavis, on the day of the new moon, instituted an illumination on the Poṣada which was a fasting day (Kalpasūtra, § 128, S. B. E., vol. XXII, p. 266). Prof. Jacobi observes, "according to the Jainas, the Licchavis and the Mallakis were the chiefs of Kāśī and Kośala. They seem to have succeeded the Aikṣvākas who ruled there in the time of the Rāmāyaṇa". (Jaina Sūtra, pt. II, p. 321, n. 3).

The Pāli-Buddhist literature is full of information about Kośala which appears to have occupied a very prominent position at the time of Buddha.

We hear of many worthies of Kośala. The Dīgha Nikāya, for instance, tells us that a famous brāhmaṇa teacher of Kośala and the teacher of Ambaṭṭha, Pokkharasādi enjoyed the property given by Pasenadi the contemporary of Buddha and that the king did not allow him to come in his presence. Pasenadi used to consult him behind the screen (vol. I, p. 103). Buddhaghosa also furnishes some details about this sage, who, as we have seen, is mentioned in the Dīgha Nikāya. Pokkharasāti or Pokkharasādi, says the commentator, was a brāhmaṇa, living at Ukkaṭṭhanagara given by the king of Kośala, Pasenadi, as Brahmadeyya (i. e. as a fee given to a brahmin). He was well-versed in the Vedas. He had been brought up and educated by a hermit who taught him many *sippas* or arts. He satisfied the king of Kośala by a display of his learning. Thus satisfied, the king bestowed upon him Ukkaṭṭhanagara (Sumaṅgalavilāsini, pt. I, pp. 244-245).

Another eminent man was Poṭṭhapāda. Mallikā, queen of



Pasenadi, built an ārāma at the Kośala capital, Sāvattthī, known as Mallikārāma, where this teacher with many pupils went to live. Buddha in course of his begging tour, came to Poṭṭhapāda and they had a talk about the means of the cessation of consciousness, observance of precepts, restraint of sense-organs, etc. (Dīgha Nikāya, vol. II, pp. 178 ff).

The Jātakas and Vinaya texts are full of details about Kośala. It is related in one of these works that once in Kośala, there was no rain, the crops were withered and everywhere ponds, tanks and lakes were dried up (Jātaka, vol. I, p. 183). It is narrated in another Jātaka story that in Kośala there was a brāhmaṇa who by simply smelling a sword could say whether it was lucky or not (Jātaka, vol. I, p. 277). Gangs of burglars, highway-men and murderers were not unknown in Kośala. (Ibid., vol. II, p. 97). In the Kośala country, the inhabitants were often carried away and killed by them. (Vinaya texts, pt. I, p. 312).

Kośala as described in the early Buddhist texts.

This is not very unlikely as the Kośala country included the forest-clad hills and valleys of the outer spurs of the Himalayas. In the Pabbajjā Suttanta of the Sutta-Nipāta, we read that the inhabitants of Kośala were healthy and powerful (p. 73).

The Dhammapada Commentary furnishes us with some interesting information regarding Kośala. We learn from this work that Pasenadi, son of Mahākośala, was educated at Taxila. Mahāli, a Licchavi prince and a Malla prince of Kusīnārā were his class mates. (D. C., pt. I, pp. 337-338). He (Pasenadi) ascended the throne of Kośala after the death of his father.

Pasenadi, king of Kośala.

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Pasenadi, king of Kośala.

him morning and evening with the four requisites. Afterwards Bāvāri with his disciples went to the Dakkhiṇāpatha as he was unwilling to stay in the royal garden any more (S. N. Com. II, pp. 579 foll.). Kośala was not inhabited by the setṭhis previous to Pasenadi of Kośala who asked Maṇḍakaseṭṭhi and Dhanañjayaseṭṭhi to settle in the country and they did settle there. (Dhammapada Commentary, pt. I, pp. 384 foll.).

Again, we read that Pasenadi of Kośala was enamoured of a beautiful woman and tried to win her by killing her husband, but he gave up this idea when warned by Buddha (Ibid., II, pp. 1 foll.).

The Kośalan king had a fight with Ajātaśatru for the village of Kāśī. He was thrice defeated. He gave up his food out of shame for this defeat by a mere boy. In the end he won victory over Ajātaśatru and captured him.

A great hall of the Law (Saddhamma Mahāsālā) was built by king Pasenadi for Buddha. (Ibid., pp. 1-2).

The Śākya became the vassals of king Pasenadi of Kośala who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated Buddha. (Dialogues of the Buddha, pt. III, p. 80). The Tibetan books have preserved a story of the Kośala king who visited the capital of the Śākyas. Once Pasenadi, king of Kośala, carried away by his horse, reached Kapilavastu alone, and roaming about hither and thither came to the garden of Mahānāman. Here he saw the beautiful Mallikā, a slave-girl of Mahānāman. He noticed the shrewdness and wisdom of the girl, went to Mahānāman and expressed his desire to marry her. Mahānāman agreed and the king took her with him in great pomp to Śrāvastī. In due course a child was born to Mallikā. This child was called Viruḍhaka or the high-born (Rockhill, Life of the Buddha, pp 75-77). This story is a Tibetan version of the famous story of Pasenadi and Vāsabhakhattiyā which is thus told in the Mahāvastu Avadāna :

King Pasenadi had a great admiration for Buddha. He wished to establish a connection with Buddha's family by marriage and wanted to marry one of the daughters of the Śākya chiefs. The Śākyas decided that it was beneath their dignity to marry one of their daughters to the king of Kośala (Buddhist India, p. 11). Accordingly they sent a girl named Vāsabhakhattiyā, a daughter, by a slave woman, of one of their leading chiefs, Mahānāman. In course of time, a son was born to Pasenadi and Vāsabhakhattiyā. This son was named Viḍūḍabha who when he became of age found out that the Śākyas had deceived his father Pasenadi by



giving him a daughter of a slave woman to marry. He resolved to take revenge upon them. With the help of his Commander-in-Chief Dirgha Cārāyana, he deposed his father and got possession of the throne for himself. After ascending the throne, Viḍūḍabha invaded the Śākya country, took their city and slew many of them without any distinction of age or sex. (vide *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, pp. 197-201).

Many are the stories told about Pasenadi's dealings with Buddha and his disciples.

In the *Samyutta Nikāya* we read that Pasenadi before accepting Buddha's discipleship saw Buddha at Jetavana. Pasenadi asked him thus, "Six heretical teachers e. g., Pūraṇa Kassapa and others, who are senior to you in age and in point of time of ordination, do not care to call themselves Buddhas. How is it that you though younger in age called yourself a Buddha." Buddha replied, "A kṣatriya, a serpent, fire, and a bhikkhu though younger in age should not be disregarded". Pasenadi hearing this became his disciple. (*S. N.*, vol. I, pp. 68-70).

After the death of Mallikā, Pasenadi went to Buddha at Jetavana. He consoled him as he was very much afflicted with grief (*A. N.*, vol. III, p. 57).

In the *Khuddakapāṭha* commentary, we read that at Sāvattī, there was a householder who was rich and wealthy. He had faith in Buddha. One day he fed Buddha along with the bhikkhusaṅgha. Once when king Pasenadi was in need of money he sent for the householder, who replied that he was concealing the treasures and he would see the king with them afterwards (pp. 216-217).

Once some quarrelsome bhikkhus of Kosambī intended to ask the pardon of Buddha on account of their fault while Buddha was at Sāvattī. Pasenadi hearing of their advent, went to Buddha and told his intention of not allowing them to come to Kōśāla but the king was advised by Buddha not to do so (*Dhammapada Comm.* pt-I, p. 64).

The king of Kōśāla, provided Khaṇḍa-dhāna with all necessities when the latter left the world after hearing the preachings of Buddha. (*Psalms of the Brethren*, pp. 19-20).

Pasenadi was famous for his charity. While Buddha was residing at Sāvattī in the ārama of Anāthapiṇḍika at Jetavana, the king made gifts for a week on an immense scale, not to be compared with the charity practised by anybody in his kingdom. These gifts were

known as 'asadisadāna' (incomparable charity) (Piṭṭhaviṃṣa, Vimānavatthu Com., pp. 5-6).

Pasenadi of Kośala was convinced of the greatness of the Śākya teacher and it is said he knew that Gotama was excellent and that he had renounced the worldly life from the Śākya family. The Śākyas were politically subordinate to Pasenadi of Kośala and they used to respect, honour, and salute him. Buddha said, "The respect which Pasenadi receives from the Śākyas is shown by him towards me". Though Pasenadi was of the same age as Buddha, yet he used to show respect to Buddha out of consideration for his eminence as a great teacher (Dīgha Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 83-84).

In the Saṃyutta Nikāya, we read that Pasenadi was told in reply by Buddha that lobha (avarice), dosa (hatred), and moha (delusion) themselves arise in a person and trouble him (vol. I, p. 70). Again he was told by Buddha that he who is born must meet with decay and death (Ibid., p. 71), that self is an enemy to him who commits three kinds of sin (Ibid., pp. 71-7), that the self of one who commits three kinds of sin is unprotected (Ibid., p. 73). Buddha further told Pasenadi, "Those who are in possession of great wealth often become attached to the world" (Ibid., pp. 73-74). The king said thus, "Many rich brāhmaṇas and khattiyas speak falsehood on account of kāma" (desire for sensual pleasures) (Ibid., p. 74). Pasenadi performed a great sacrifice in which 500 bulls, 500 calves, 500 goats, etc. were brought for sacrifice. Buddha, when requested to attend, did not like this yajña, and he was against the taking away of life by slaughter (Ibid., p. 76). Pasenadi once paid a visit to Buddha. Then some jaṭilas, nigaṇṭhas, acelakas, paribbājakas were seen going at a distance from the Blessed One. Pasenadi saluted them and told Buddha that these people were arahats. Buddha said, "It is impossible to know one's character, purity, strength and wisdom by seeing him for a moment" (Ibid., pp. 78-79). Pasenadi used to take a pot of rice which was sufficient to hold sixteen seers of rice (Ibid., p. 81). He reduced his meal to one nāti under Buddha's instruction (Ibid., pp. 81-82).

Pasenadi had to fight with Ajātaśatru who was defeated and imprisoned. His four-fold army was defeated and captured by Pasenadi but ultimately Ajātaśatru was set free (Ibid., pp. 83-85). Pasenadi had a daughter born to him by Mallikā. At this news he became sorry but Buddha consoled him by saying that some women are better than men if they are virtuous and faithful to their husbands. Their sons would be brave (Ibid., p. 86). Pasenadi was taught that earnestness is the only virtue which gives happiness in this



life as well as in after-life (Ibid., pp. 86-87). Pasenadi was again told by Buddha that there are four kinds of puggala in this world. (Ibid., pp. 93 foll). He became very much afflicted with grief when his grandmother died, but he was consoled by Buddha (Ibid., p. 97).

The king of Kośala had an elephant named Bhaddaraka. It had great strength. (Ibid., pt. IV, p. 25). Some thieves were caught and brought before the king of Kośala. He ordered them to be bound in ropes and chains. They were thrown in prison. This information was given by the bhikkhus to Buddha who was asked whether there was any stronger tie than this. Buddha replied, "attachment to wives, sons, and wealth are stronger than other ties." (D. C., pt. IV, pp. 54-55).

The Saṃyutta Nikāya also supplies us with further information about Kośala. Buddha spent much of his time at Sāvattthī and most of his sermons were delivered there. From Kośala, Buddha went to the Mallas, Vajjis, Kāśīs, and Magadhas (S. N., vol. v, pp. 349 foll). Buddha delivered a sermon on self to the brāhmaṇa householders of a brāhmaṇa village in Kośala (Ibid., pp. 352 foll).

Buddha and the  
common people  
of Kośala.

The story of the conversion of the Kośala country to the Buddhist faith is told in some detail in the Majjhima Nikāya. Here we read that in the course of his journey over Northern India, on one occasion the Blessed One was sojourning in Kośala and went to Sālā, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośala. The brāhmaṇa householders of Sālā went to see him and asked him a question regarding the going of beings to heaven and hell after death, and he answered it fully with reference to adhammacariyā (doing misdeeds) and visamacariyā (doing improper deeds) (vol. I, pp. 285 foll). In the same village Buddha had a talk with the brāhmaṇa householders about faith in Buddha, nihilism, karma, non-existence of the consequence of kamma, kāya, vaci and manokammas, arūpaloka, cessation of existence, four kinds of puggala, four jhānas and the six abhiññās. Buddha explained them to their satisfaction and they became his life-long disciples. (M. N., Vol. I, pp. 400 foll). When Buddha was sojourning in Kośala, he smiled at a place a little away from the road. Ānanda asked him about the reason of his smile and he replied that formerly there was a rich town named Vebhaliṅga. Kassapa Buddha used to live there. Kassapa had his ārāma at the spot where Buddha smiled. In this ārāma Kassapa used to instruct the people. Ānanda prepared a seat for Buddha and requested him to sit on it so that the place might be sanctified by the two Buddhas. Buddha sat on the seat and

narrated a long history of Kassapa Buddha and his disciples (Majjhima Nikāya, vol. II, pp. 45 foll).

When the Blessed One was at Kośala, he went once to Nagaravinda, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośala. There many brāhmaṇa householders used to live. They came to see Buddha attracted by the stories they had heard of his fame as a great teacher. They are told by Buddha that the Samaṇas and Brāhmaṇas who were not free from passion, anger, and ignorance, whose mind was not tranquil and who did evil deeds by body, speech and mind, should not be respected by them. They should respect those who were free from the above mentioned vices. After listening to Buddha, the brāhmaṇa householders became converted to the new faith preached by him (Majjhima Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 290 foll).

The Aṅguttara Nikāya also furnishes information about the Kośala country. We have pointed out before that the Aṅguttara Nikāya speaks of Kośala as one of the sixteen mahājanapadas of Jambudīpa. It had abundance of seven kinds of gems, wealth, food and drink (vol. I, p. 213 ; vol. IV, pp. 252, 256, 260)

When Buddha was sojourning in Kośala, once he went to Venāgapura, a brāhmaṇa village of Kośala ; the brāhmaṇa householders of the village went to pay their respects to him and had a talk with the great teacher regarding high and big comfortable beds. Buddha spoke of the three kinds of bed (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. I, pp. 180 foll). The Aṅguttara Nikāya also repeats the story of the seat of Kassapa Buddha given in the Majjhima Nikāya. It narrates that at one time Buddha was sojourning in Kośala. He saw a Sāla forest and smiled there. He told that Kassapa Buddha's abode was at the place where he smiled (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. I, pp. 214-15).

On another occasion, he was sojourning in Kośala. He saw there fishermen selling fish after dividing it. With reference to this fact Buddha gave a discourse on the impurities of the body and the evil effect of selling fish and flesh. He said, "those who carry on trade in fish and flesh cannot be happy and wealthy" (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 301-303).

The Sutta Nipāta (P. T. S., pp 79-86). tells us that when the Blessed One was dwelling in the Kośala country on the bank of a river, a brāhmaṇa named Sundarika-Bhāradvāja performed fire-sacrifices. He then saw that Buddha went to him and put to him questions thus, "To which caste do you belong ?" The Blessed One replied that he belonged to no caste. Bhāradvāja was afterwards convinced of the worthlessness of caste distinction and offered to



Buddha food which the Blessed One did not accept. The ascetic Bhāradvāja was then converted and took refuge in Buddha, Dhamma and Saṃgha and got ordination from Buddha.

Again, in the same work, we read that a brāhmaṇa of Kośala named Bāvārī who was well-versed in mantras went from Kośala to Dakkhināpatha. There in the kingdom of Assaka, near Mūlaka, he built a hermitage on the bank of the river Godāvārī and used to live on alms. He used to earn much from the villagers living in villages by the side of his hermitage. He performed a big sacrifice and he spent all his accumulated wealth. After performing the act of charity he entered the hermitage and saw a brāhmaṇa who asked for 500 kahāpaṇas which he could not give and the brāhmaṇa cursed him. Both of them went to Buddha who was then in Kośala and put questions to him regarding head and breaking it. Buddha replied, 'muddhā' means 'avijjā' and 'vijjā' is the destroyer of 'muddhā'." The disciples of Bāvārī put several questions to Buddha, which were dealt with in the Pārāyaṇavagga of the Sutta Nipāta and Buddha answered them to their satisfaction (S. N., pp. 190-192).

The Vinaya Piṭaka points out that the bhikkhus of Kośala used to recite the Pātimokkha in an abridged form to avert imminent danger (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, p. 261).

Buddhists in  
Kośala.

Udena, a lay-devotee of Kośala had a vihāra built for the Saṃgha and dedicated it to the bhikkhus for their use (Ibid., p. 302). In the commentary on the Sutta Nipāta we read that a carpenter of Benares with his disciples worshipped Buddha's relics and observed the precepts and uposatha. In consequence of this, they were reborn in the devaloka or the region of the gods. Before the appearance of Gotama Buddha they fell from the devaloka and were reborn in Kośala. The carpenter was reborn in Kośala as the son of the chaplain of Pasenadi's father.

In Kośala, a cowherd named Nanda was rich and wealthy. He used to go to Anāthapiṇḍika's house from time to time taking with him five kinds of preparations from cow's milk. He invited Buddha who accepted the invitation. Nanda continued charities for a week. On the seventh day, Buddha delivered a sermon on dāna, sila, etc. Nanda obtained the first stage of sanctification (D. C., pt. I, pp. 322-323).

Aggidatta was the purohita or royal chaplain of Mahākośala, father of Pasenadi. Pasenadi also accepted him as his purohita. Aggidatta thinking that he might be shown disrespect by Pasenadi became a heretic. He held that one should take refuge in mountain, forest, ārāma (pleasure garden) and tree, and this refuge would lead to the removal

of all sufferings. Moggallāna converted Aggidatta with his disciples (Ibid., pt. III, pp. 241 foll.).

Kośala in later times came to be known as Śrāvastī in order to distinguish it from South Kośala. Hiuen Tsang who visited India in the seventh century A. D., says that Śrāvastī i. e., North Kośala was above 600li in circuit. Although it was mostly in ruins yet there were some inhabitants. The country had good crops and an equable climate, and the people had honest ways and were given to learning. They were fond of good works. There were some hundreds of Buddhist monasteries, most of which were in ruins. The brethren who were very few were Sammatīyas. There were a hundred deva temples and the non-Buddhists were very numerous. Close by there was a preaching hall built by Pasenadi for Buddha. There were topes (Watters on Yuan Chwang, vol. I, p. 377). Further, the pilgrim records that there were many Buddhist monasteries and many brethren were Mahāyānists. There were Tīrthikas (heretics) whom Buddha had vanquished by his supernatural powers (Ibid., vol. II, p. 200).

From the accounts that we have got in Buddhist literature about the Kośala kings and princes we observe that the Kosalan kings and princes received good education. In the Brahāchatta Jātaka we read that a son of the king of Kośala named Chatta fled to Taxila when his father was taken prisoner and there he mastered the three Vedas and eighteen vijjās. We are told that at Taxila he learnt the Nidhi-uddharāṇamantram or the science of discovering hidden treasure. He found out the hidden treasure of his deceased father and with the money thus acquired he engaged troops and reconquered the lost kingdom of his father (Jātakas, vol. III, pp. 115-116). We have also seen before in the accounts of Kośala in the Nikāyas, that some Kośala princes received their education at Taxila.

T. W. Rhys Davids points out that a conversational dialect based probably on the local dialect of Sāvattī, the capital of Kośala, was in general use among Kośala officials, among merchants and among the more cultured classes, not only throughout the Kośala dominions but east and west from Delhi to Patna, and north and south from Sāvattī to Avanti (Buddhist India, p. 153). Prof. Jacobi points out that the Rāmāyaṇa was composed in Kośala on the basis of ballads popularly recited by rhapsodists throughout that district. But the very centre of the literary activity of the Buddhists was Kośala (Ibid., p. 183).



Dr. Keith is right in pointing out that the brahmanical civilization doubtless centred in the region of Kurukṣetra or the middle country especially among the Kuru-Pañcālas, but it spread beyond these limits to the land of the Kośalas and Videhas as well as to even more remote regions (Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 9-10). It must be admitted that although the extension of Brahmanism from the land of the Kurus and Pañcālas to Kośala was comparatively late, the Aryan occupation of the country went back to an earlier period (Cambridge History of India, vol. I, pp. 308-309).

From the discussions held by the Kośalans with Buddha and the stories related about them in the Petavatthu and its commentary, it is evident that the Kosalans believed in the existence of soul after death. They had the notion that people had to suffer tortures after death in consequence of the sinful deeds done by them while on earth. The Paramatthadīpanī on the Petavatthu records many instances which go to show how people of Kośala underwent various torments after death in consequence of the sinful deeds done while alive. For example, we are told that the two sons of a king of Kośala who were handsome in their youth committed adultery. They were re-born as petas (spirits) residing on the moat surrounding Kośala and used to make terrible noise at night. (See also the stories of Pañcaputtakhādakapeta, Akkharukkhapeta, Goṇapeta, in my work 'The Buddhist Conception of Spirits,' pp. 44-45).

Once Dīghāvu, prince of Kośala, found the king of Benares lying in a forest. He captured the king who murdered his parents.

But remembering the advice of his parents, he simply frightened the helpless king who appealed to him and the prince after being assured that there would in future be no dissension or anything of the like nature, forgave the king. The king swore an oath and gave his daughter in marriage to the prince and established him in the kingdom that belonged to his father. (Ibid., III, pp. 139-140). Mahākośala, father of king Pasenadi of Kośala, married his daughter Kośalā to king Bimbisāra of Magadha and gave her a village in Kāśī yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand for bath and perfume money (Jātakas, II, p. 164; Ibid., IV, p. 216). Pasenadi of Kośala took Ajātasattu prisoner and afterwards gave him his own daughter Vajirā in marriage. (Jātakas, Cowell, vol. IV, pp. 216-217). Vajirā was given the village of Kāśī which was for a long time the bone of contention between

Brahmanic  
influence.

Spirit-belief of  
the Kośalans.

Matrimonial  
alliances with  
neighbouring  
powers.

the two families. (Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 77). Thus we see that the royal houses of Kāśī, Kōśala, and Magadha were inter-related through matrimony.

In Kōśala the form of government was monarchical (Eliot, Hinduism and Buddhism, vol. I, p. 131; cf. Bhandarkar, Carmichael Lectures, 1918, p. 114). The inhabitants of Sāvattthī, the capital of Kōśala, used to assemble together and form a gaṇa or guild (Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 40).

It is interesting to note as the 'Cambridge History of India' (I, p. 190) points out that India appeared as a number of kingdoms and republics with a constant tendency towards amalgamation. This process had proceeded further in Kōśala than elsewhere; that great kingdom was by far the most important state in northern India in the sixth century B. C.

The first important state to be absorbed by Kōśala was Kāśī. The kings of Kāśī and Kōśala were from the beginning constantly at war with each other. In one of the Jātaka stories an account is given of the constant warfare carried on between these two neighbouring monarchies. Sometimes victory lay with one side and sometimes with the other. At times they were evidently united, most probably by conquest as is shown by the phrase *Kāśī-Kōśala* in Vedic literature. We read in a Jātaka story that once the king of Benares marched against the king of Kōśala, killed the king and carried off his queen to make her his own wife. When the king was killed, his son escaped and shortly afterwards collected a mighty force and came to Benares with the object of fighting with its reigning king. Information was sent to the king of Benares to this effect. The king of Benares was ready for the fight. But the mother of the young prince sent words to her son advising him not to fight but to blockade the city so that people would be worn out for want of food and water. The young prince did so. The citizens could not bear starvation and on the seventh day they beheaded their king and brought the head to the prince of Kōśala. The prince entered the city and made himself king (Jātakas, Cowell, vol. I, p. 243).

Again, in another Jātaka story we read that on the death of his father Prince Goodness ascended the throne of Benares. One of his ministers committed sin in the king's harem. The king came to know of this, found the minister guilty and drove him out of his kingdom.



Thus driven, the minister came to the king of Kośala and became his confidential adviser. The minister requested the Kośalan king to attack the kingdom of Benares because the king of that country was very weak. Thus advised the Kośalan king twice sent his men to massacre the villagers of Benares and they came back with presents. At last the king of Kośala, determined to attack the kingdom of Kāśī, set out with his troops and elephants. The king of Benares had gallant warriors who were ready to resist the march of the Kośalan king but they were not permitted to do so. The king of Kośala asked pardon from the king of Kāśī and gave back the kingdom of Kāśī which he took. The Kośalan king punished the slanderous traitor and went back to his kingdom with his troops and elephants (Jātakas, vol. I, pp. 128-133).

Further, we read in the same work that once the king of Benares was seized by Dabbasena, king of Kośala and was fastened by a cord and hung with head downwards. The king of Benares, however, did not entertain any malicious feeling towards the rebel prince, and by a process of complete absorption, entered upon a state of mystic meditation and bursting his bonds sat cross-legged in the air. The rebel prince felt a burning sensation all over his body. The minister told the king that he was thus suffering for tormenting the king of Benares who was a holy man. At last Dabbasena begged pardon and restored his kingdom to the king of Benares (Jātakas III, p. 202).

The Jātakas further inform us that on one occasion the king of Benares attacked the Kośala country and took the king prisoner. There he set up royal officers as governors and himself having collected all the available treasure returned with his spoil to Benares. The king of Kośala had a son named Chattha who fled while his father was taken prisoner. He came to Taxila and educating himself went to a wood where he met some ascetics from whom he learnt all that the ascetics could teach him. Gradually the prince became the leader of the ascetics. He came to Benares with the ascetics and spent the night in the king's garden. The next morning the ascetics came to the door of the palace. The king saw them and was charmed with their deportment. The king asked them to sit on the dais and put to them various questions. Chattha, the leader of the ascetics, answered them all and won the king's heart. The king asked him to stay in the garden with the ascetics. Chattha knew the spell by which he could find out where the hidden treasure was. He came to know that it was in the

garden. He then introduced himself to the ascetics. Then Chatta with the ascetics fled to Sāvattihī with the hidden treasure. There he had all the king's officers seized, and recovering his kingdom, restored the walls and watch-towers. He made the city invincible against alien invasion and took his residence there (Cowell, Jātakas, III, pp. 76-78).

The Sonananda Jātaka records a fight between Manoja, king of Benares and a king of Kośala. Manoja pitched his camp near the city of Kośala and sent a message to the king asking him either to give battle or to surrender himself. The king was enraged and accepted the challenge. A fierce fight ensued. The king of Kośala was advised to submit to king Manoja of Benares. The king of Kośala agreed and was taken to Manoja who was thus entreated, "the king of Kośala submits to you, Sir, let the kingdom still belong to him". King Manoja assented. (Jātakas, Cowell, vol. V., pp. 166-167).

From the Jātaka stories of the two neighbouring countries of Kāśī and Kośala, it is evident that there was mutual jealousy between the two kingdoms, and a constant spirit of hostility actuated the rival royal houses. Each was looking out for an opportunity for inflicting a defeat on the other and of annexing either the whole or at least part of the other's dominions. Sometimes they also appear to have been connected by matrimony and it is probable that the two countries were united sometimes by conquest and sometimes perhaps by a common heir succeeding to the throne of both the countries.

As we have already said that king Mahākośala, father of Pasenadi, married his daughter Kośaladevī to Bimbisāra king of Magadha and granted her a village of the Kāśī-country yielding a revenue of a hundred thousand as her *nahāna-cuṇṇa-mūla*, i.e. bath and perfume money. When Ajātaśatru put his father Bimbisāra to death, Kośaladevī died of grief. For some time after her death, Ajātaśatru continued to enjoy the revenues of the village, but Pasenadi, king of Kośala, resolved that no parricide should have a village which was his by right of inheritance, and so confiscated it. Thus there was a war between Ajātaśatru and Prasenajit with the result that Ajātaśatru was at first victorious but he was afterwards taken prisoner by the Kośalan king and was bound in chains. After punishing him thus for some days he was released and was advised not to do so in future. By way of consolation he was given by the Kosalan king his own daughter Vajirā in marriage.

Kośala and  
Magadha.



He was afterwards dismissed with great pomp (Car. Lec., 1918, pp. 76-77; and Cowell, *Jātakas*, vol. IV, pp. 216-217).

Dr. Bhandarkar points out that some parts of Kośala were annexed to the kingdom of Magadha during the reign of Ajātaśatru. (Car. Lec., 1918, p. 79).

Annexation of  
Kośala by  
Magadha.

We have already seen that Ajātaśatru married a princess of Kośala. His mother was a lady of the famous Licchavi tribe. He waged successful wars against both the Licchavis and his consort's kingdom. Kośala disappears from history as an independent kingdom and evidently was absorbed by Magadha. (Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 46).

In the north the Kośala country bordered on the region occupied by the Śākya and there were mutual jealousies between the two peoples that often developed into war. Thus we are told that the Śākya became the vassals of king Pasenadi of Kośala who received homage from them and they treated him in the same way as the king treated Buddha (*Dialogues of Buddha*, pt. III, p. 80).

Kośala and  
Śākya.

The capital cities of Kośala were Sāvattī and Sāketa. Many fanciful theories have been started to explain the name Sāvattī.

According to one view Sāvattī is so called because it was resided in by the sage Sāvatta. In the *Papañcasūdanī* the commentator holds that everything required by human beings is to be found there; hence it is called *sabba+atthi* = Sāvattī. In answer to a question by some merchants as to what the place contained, it was told 'sabbam atthi' (there is everything). Hence it is called Sāvattī. (*Papañcasūdanī*, I, pp. 59-60).

According to the *Purāṇas*, Śrāvastī is said to have been built by king Śrāvasta, eighth in descent from Vivakṣu, son of Ikṣvāku (*Viṣṇu-purāṇa*, Ch. 2, Aṃśa 4; cf. *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, 9th skandha, Ch. 6, śl. 21). Again in the *Matsya-purāṇa*, we read that king Śrāvasta of the Kakutṣtha family built in the Gauḍa country a city named Śrāvasta (Ch. 21, śl. 30; *Kūrma-purāṇa*, Ch. 23, śl. 19; *Līṅga-purāṇa*, ch. 95). Sāvattī was situated in what is now the province of Oudh (Edkins, *Chinese Buddhism*, p. 290). It is now known beyond all doubt as Maheṭh of the village group Saheṭh-Maheṭh on the borders of the Gonda and Bahraich districts of the United Provinces (Carmichael Lectures, 1918 p. 51).

Śrāvastī in the  
Purāṇas.

The Pāli-Buddhist literature is full of facts regarding Sāvattī

and her glories. Many of the most edifying discourses were delivered by Buddha at the Kośala capital which was the place of residence of two of the most munificent donors of the Buddhist saṃgha, viz., Anāthapiṇḍika, the great merchant and Visākhā Migāramātā, the most liberal-hearted of the ladies about whom the Buddhist literature holds any record.

In the *Vimānavatthu* we read that the Kośalans and specially the Sāvattthians were remarkable for their charity which, they believed, was one of the many principal ways of acquiring heavenly bliss.

Kośalans—  
charitable.

Again we hear that when Buddha was at Sāvattthī, there was a woman who was very faithful and obedient to her husband. She had patience and was not subject to anger, never used harsh words even when she was irritated, was truthful, and had faith in Buddha. She used to make offerings according to her means. After death she was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven and enjoyed heavenly bliss (*Patibbatāvimāna*, V. Com., pp. 56-57). Again in the *Suñisāvimāna* we read that at Sāvattthī an arahat went to a house for alms. The daughter-in-law of the family, seeing the arahat, was filled with joy and ardour, and with great devotion offered some portion of the cakes which she had got for her own use. The therā accepted the offering and went away blessing her. In consequence of this religious merit she after death was reborn in the Tāvatiṃsa heaven (V. C., p. 61). There lived in the town of Kimbila a householder's son named Rohaka who was a believer in Buddha, and there was in another family of equal status, in the same town, a mild and gentle girl who on account of her merits was called Bhaddā. Rohaka married the girl Bhaddā. One day two chief disciples of Buddha, in course of their tour, came to the town of Kimbila. Rohaka invited the two disciples with their followers, offered them good food, drink and various other things, with his wife served them in every way, and listening to their discourses embraced Buddhism and received the five sīlas (V. Com., pp. 109-110). When Buddha was at Jetavana in Sāvattthī, there was at Nālakagāma a family of two daughters named Bhaddā and Subhaddā. Bhaddā went to her husband's house. She was faithful and intelligent but barren. She requested her husband to marry her sister whose son, if born, would be like her own son and the family line would be continued thereby. Persuaded by her, the husband married Subhaddā who was always ins-



trusted by Bhaddā to offer charity, to observe the precepts and to perform other meritorious deeds diligently and in consequence of this she would be happy in this world and in the next. Subhaddā acted according to her advice and one day she invited Revata. The therā, however, in order to secure comparatively great blessings for her, took it as an invitation to the Saṃgha and went to her house accompanied by eleven other bhikkhus and Subhaddā offered good food and drink to them. The therā approved of her charity and as a result of feeding the saṃgha, she, after death, was reborn in the Nimmānarati heaven (V. C., pp. 149-156).

The Dīgha Nikāya informs us that immediately after Buddha's parinibbāṇa, Ānanda was dwelling at Jetavana. Subha, son of Todeyya came to Sāvattthī on some business. Subha invited Ānanda who accepted the invitation. He had a talk with Ānanda about the dhammas preached by the Blessed One e.g. ariyasīlakkhandha, ariya-samādhikkhandha and ariyapaññākkhandha (Dīgha Nikāya, I, pp. 204 foll).

There were many merchants at Sāvattthī (Buddhist Conception of Spirits, p. 26). Sāvattthian merchants used to go to Videha with cartloads of merchandise to sell their wares there. They used to take commodities from Videha. Some merchants of Sāvattthī went to Suvarṇabhūmi in a ship (Ibid., p. 38). Again we read that some merchants of Sāvattthī went to the northern regions (Uttarāpatha) taking with them five hundred cartloads of merchandise (Ibid., p. 76).

Sāvattthī, was visited by the two famous Chinese pilgrims, Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang, but the glories of the once splendid capital of the Kośala had departed at the time of their visit. When Fa-Hien who visited India in the fourth century A. D. went to Srāvastī, the inhabitants of the city were few amounting in all to a few more than two hundred families. The pilgrim refers to Prasenajit of Kośala, and saw the place where the old vihāra of Mahā-pajāpati Gotamī was built, the wells and walls of the house of Anāthapiṇḍika, and the site where Aṅgulimāla attained arahatship. Topes were built in all these places. Envious brāhmaṇas who cherished bitter hatred in their heart wished to destroy them but in vain (Legge, Travels of Fa-Hien, pp. 55-56).

Anāthapiṇḍika built a vihāra at Sāvattthī famous as Jetavanavihāra which was originally of seven storeys. This vihāra was dedicated to Buddha and the Buddhist Church by Prince Jeta (Ibid., pp. 56-57).

Cunningham points out on the authority of Hiuen Tsang that five centuries after Buddha or one century after Kaniṣka, Vikramāditya, king of Śrāvastī, became a persecutor of the Buddhists, and the famous Manorhita, author of the Vibhāṣāśāstra, being worsted in argument by the brāhmaṇas, put himself to death. During the reign of his successor, the brāhmaṇas were overcome by Vasubandhu, the eminent disciple of Manorhita. In the third century A. D. Śrāvastī seems to have been under the rule of its own kings as we find Khīradhāra and his nephew mentioned as rājās between A. D. 275 and 319. Still later Śrāvastī was only a dependency of the powerful Gupta dynasty of Magadha as the neighbouring city of Sāketa is especially said to have belonged to them. From this time Śrāvastī gradually declined. In A. D. 400 it contained a few families and in A. D. 600 it was completely deserted.

Another important town of Kośala was Sāketa which was certainly the capital of Kośala in the period immediately preceding Buddha (Car. Lec., 1918, p. 51). The road from Sāketa to Sāvattihī was haunted by robbers who were dangerous to passers-by. Even the bhikkhus who had very little in their possession were robbed of their scanty belongings and sometimes killed by the robbers. Royal soldiers used to come to the spot where robbery was committed, and used to kill those robbers whom they could arrest. (Vinaya Texts, pt. I, pp. 220-221).

Besides Sāvattihī and Sāketa we find mention of other towns in the Kośala country e.g. Daṇḍakappaka, Nalaka-pāna, Setavya and Paṇkadhā. Once Buddha went to Daṇḍakappa, a town of Kośala. He gave a discourse to Ānanda on Devadatta's fall into the Avici Hell (Aṅguttara Nikāya, vol. III, pp. 402 foll). Buddha once visited Nalaka-pāna, a town of Kośala. There he dwelt at Palāsavana. He gave religious instructions to the bhikkhus on an uposatha night. After giving a long discourse, he requested Sāriputta to continue it (A. N., IV, pp. 122 foll). Once Kumārakassapa with a large number of bhikkhus went to Setavya. Pāyāsi was the chief at the place. He enjoyed enormous wealth given by Pasenadi, king of Kośala. He was a false believer but his false belief was dispelled by Kumārakassapa. Many brāhmaṇa householders together with Pāyāsi went to Kumārakassapa and held discussions with him about the next world, beings not born in mother's womb, and the result of good and bad kammās (D. N., II, pp. 316 foll).

Buddha went to Paṇkadhā, a town of Kośala. Kassapagotta,



a bhikkhu, was dwelling there. Buddha gave him instructions about precepts but he did not like his instructions (A. N., vol. I, p. 236).

In the *Samyutta Nikāya* (vol. IV, pp. 374 foll), we find the mention of a village named *Toraṇavatthu*, a village between *Sāvatthi* and *Sāketa*. In this village, *Khemā bhikkhuṇī* observed the lent; and here *Pasenadi*, on his way from *Sāketa* to *Sāvatthi*, spent one night. He was informed of *Khemā bhikkhuṇī*. He went to her and put to her questions regarding life after death; and she answered them to the king's satisfaction (S. N., vol., IV, pp. 374 foll).

BIMALA CHARAN LAW

## MISCELLANY

### Oriental Studies in Russia

The difficulties of the Russian language always place a serious obstacle in the way of those foreigners who for one reason or another are, or might be, interested in a more intimate knowledge of Russia. Diffusion of first-hand information would be all the more desirable for mutual understanding, as the country, always living separated by long distances and difficult communications, has long since become one, concerning which many imaginary and fabulous stories are told. It is remarkable how many misconceptions are firmly established in the public opinion of Western Europe, so that even educated and well-informed people often repeat these ridiculous inventions as truth itself.

Of late the mutual acquaintance of Russia and Western Europe has been growing, since the Great War has given it a strong impetus. Of the greatest importance was the last revolution, which compelled something like three millions of Russians, mostly belonging to the better and more educated classes, to seek refuge abroad from the untold brutality of the Socialists. Intentionally or unintentionally these large numbers of exiles were making Russian matters more widely known all over the world, and the people who used to repeat fantastic stories about Russia had an opportunity to learn the reality. But still there are many sides of Russian life which are not sufficiently well-known.

One such obscure aspect of Russian activities is its large and important contribution to Oriental research. This must be very interesting to every student of Oriental subjects. If research in scientific and other matters of universal interest has long become an international institution rather than a domestic affair of a particular nation, this is still more so in matters of Oriental research. The facilities for work are much limited, because a study of Oriental philology and literature cannot be regarded as a paying occupation, and therefore only a few scholars can devote themselves to this arduous work with the help of patronage from the state. Naturally, these studies on an extensive scale can be patronised only by those states which have permanent and important interests in the East. Such states are not numerous and the literature on Eastern matters, in its different subdivisions, is so small that every new serious work is of great importance, in whatever language it may appear.



Russia has always been one of the countries with very extensive interests in the East, and has produced a great number of most important works on Oriental subjects. The interest in this branch of literature gradually rose in the Western centres at the end of the last century. Already August Müller, an eminent German Arabist, had studied Russian and recommended the study of this language to the younger Orientalists. Of the latter there are many brilliant scholars who have done this. It is sufficient to mention the names of Prof. Pelliot in France, Sir E. Denison Ross, and Sir T. Arnold in England. But what is accessible to such eminent specialists cannot have become as yet the possession of wider circles, and an average Oriental student in Western Europe, especially in England, knows very little as to what is going on with regard to his special subject in Russia.

In India, where there is very small contact with the foreign centres of Oriental research, or with the different institutions in the foreign countries, some information as to the general character of Oriental studies in Russia may be interesting. This note attempts to supply such information in a very summary form, because the subject would require a volume to be treated adequately and in detail.

Whilst the majority of the Western nations first became interested in the various Eastern countries from the view-point of commerce, the matter was quite different in Russia. Its geographical position made it a sort of what nowadays is called a "buffer-state" between Western Europe, and at that time, the turbulent, East. So it became a kind of wall behind which western civilisation could thrive. During the whole of a thousand long years of Russian history, there was almost no serious struggle with the West, but a continual strife against the invaders from the East. Mediæval Russia with her extensive Eastern policy and frequent embassies to and from the different Oriental courts was much better informed about the geography and political life of the East than Western Europe. Special records were kept in the foreign office of that time ; people who knew Oriental languages were employed ; and maps were drawn up. All this activity received a great development by the end of the XVIIth century, when there appeared at the head of Russia one of the greatest organising geniuses the world has ever known namely Peter the Great.

It was then that the study of the East was set on a firm basis and organised into a system. In 1727 the Russian Academy of Sciences was founded, and it was its duty to carry on this research, which since that time has given rise to an extensive literature on Oriental subjects, rich collections of manuscripts, books, ethnological collections, coins, and

other matters connected with the East. In course of time, the collection became so extensive that it was found necessary to accommodate them in separate institutions. In 1818 the books, manuscripts, etc., were brought together in a special library the so-called Asiatic Museum. The ethnological and anthropological collections were concentrated in the Ethnological Museum in 1837. Recently, under the special patronage of Alexander III, a new ethnological Museum, dealing only with Russia, was established in 1897, and called the Russian Museum. It contains also a great many materials concerning Asia.

The study of Oriental languages was originally introduced on the same lines as other disciplines in the different Russian universities. Special faculties were created when in 1858 all the studies concerned with the East became centralised in the so-called 'Oriental faculty', or the Faculty of the Oriental languages, literatures, and history, in the University of St. Petersburg. It has not only given Russia a great number of good specialists, but also considerably promoted a general interest in the study of the Eastern subjects amongst those who though not scholars had, for different reasons, to come into contact with it.

Afterwards special needs, or occasional opportunities, led to the establishment of different secondary institutions for the study of particular groups of languages, Oriental archæology, etc., from different points of view and for different (chiefly practical) purposes in St. Petersburg itself as well as in Moscow, and in many provincial cities. Libraries, museums, etc., were also started in different parts of the Empire.

A considerable share in such research was always taken by the Russian Oriental Society, and also to a certain extent, the Geographical Society. The former was established in 1846. Its real title was "The Oriental section of the Imperial Russian Archæological Society." Its "Zapiski" or Bulletin has gained general recognition in all circles of Orientalists.

The Russian Imperial Geographical Society, founded in 1845, did not, naturally, limit its activities to Oriental geography but its Journal contains treasures of information concerning ethnological problems of Asia. The character of Russian Oriental research has always been different from that peculiar to such work in some other countries. Russians have done well chiefly as explorers and pioneers in different directions rather than as those who combine the materials, brought by others, into admirable works of great finish.

In Oriental research Russia has chiefly contributed to the knowledge of the Far East, Central Asia, and the Caucasus. In Sinology, and the study of the Paleoasiatic languages of Siberia, Russian work takes a



most important place. The same is true with regard to the studies of Mongolian literature and the Mongolian dialects.

That most important branch of Oriental research, Turkology, has chiefly developed in Russia where there always has been a considerable number of good specialists in that subject.

Much has been done for the studies of the Iranian languages. The researches into Kurdish and Persian dialects, the study of the Iranian population of the Oxus valley, etc., have been most important.

The whole group of most different languages, spoken in the Caucasus, such as the tongues of the hill-men, Georgian, Armenian, etc., have always formed a prominent part of the studies.

To this may be added a large amount of work done in the direction of investigation of the literatures in all these languages, a deep study of the history of Central Asia and the connected countries, their archæology, etc. All these results constitute a large inheritance, and it is a matter of national pride that a large proportion of what has been written consists of works of permanent value which have been useful since the time of their first appearance and will not entirely lose their importance for at least a long period to come.

Indian studies in Russia have always been in a peculiar position. The absence of direct interests in the country, which might be of any practical concern, could not make this branch of research very popular. Sanskrit, however, and other Indian languages were studied not only for purely philological purposes, but also for the exploration of Buddhistic literature. The Russian government had a large number of Buddhist subjects, in fact, several millions of Qalmuqs, Qirghizes, Yaquits, Buryats, Mongols, etc. It was in order to learn more about their customs and religions that Buddhistic studies were encouraged.

For studying the Buddhistic literature of the Mongols, the Chinese, the Tibetans, etc., the Russian scholars had naturally to refer very often to the Sanskrit and Pāli originals. This circumstance has brought about this state of things that almost all eminent Russian Indianists were exclusively interested in the Buddhistic literature. In 1897 even a special series was started by the Russian Imperial Academy of Sciences for the publication of Buddhistic works called the *Bibliotheca Buddhica*.

These studies began fairly early in the beginning of the XIXth century. The first press possessing a Nāgarī alphabet was founded in St. Petersburg in the middle of the reign of Alexander I, who died in 1825. One of the greatest achievements was the famous dictionary of Prof. Böhlingk, about the middle of the last century.

Since that time there have been many people who have studied Pāli and Sanskrit for the needs of comparative philology, etc. But the real specialists were Vasiliev and after him Minayev; the latter chiefly studied Pāli. His pupil, Prof. Stcherbatski, is an eminent specialist in Buddhist philosophy, and has published several large works on the system of the Buddhist theory of knowledge by Dharmakīrti and others. It is most regrettable that his very talented pupil, O. Rosenberg, quite a young man, died in 1919.

Another very eminent Indianist, S. Oldenburg, was chiefly interested in Buddhist art. He undertook an interesting expedition to the ruins of various sand-buried cities of Central Asia, and has brought home much new material. His important post as Secretary of the Russian Academy of Sciences takes far too much of his time to allow him to concentrate his labours on some definite subject of research in which he has specialized. There is a number of other, less eminent, specialists in Sanskrit and Pāli who either lecture on these languages, or study them from the purely philological point of view.

Everybody would naturally like to know what has become of Oriental studies in Russia during the recent cataclysm. It would be indeed difficult to expect that amidst the terrible events which took place, the Orientalists should have been able to quietly continue their work.

Research and the publication of new works have certainly been paralysed to a great extent; only a few works which had been in the press at the time of the revolution have appeared after a long delay. At present, all the surviving specialists have to suffer hard times because they have to earn their livelihood with great difficulty.

Judging from what is going on in St. Petersburg, much has been done in the way of renaming the old institutions, or splitting them up into several independent bodies. There may perhaps have been special reasons for this, God knows. But the measure has not added to the number of active workers. It has fallen disastrously owing to death and other causes. Those who remain are doing their best to preserve the high standards established by the previous, more lucky, generations.

It will indeed be a very great loss to the civilised world if Oriental research in Russia remains long in its present condition. The tradition in scholarly matters, the true spirit of research are plants which require long years, even centuries, to grow. They can be easily destroyed, but cannot be improvised. There is still so much to be done in the way of research all over Asia. Even in India, where much has already been achieved there still remains almost boundless field for research,



## Progress of Historical Research in the Madras Presidency

The Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, in the course of his Report for the year 1921-22 notes the discovery of a few Jaina monuments in the Ganjam District, a cavern containing a standing Jaina image at Sailada, a village near the Chicacole Road Railway Station, and a huge seated image of a Jaina *Tīrthaṅkara* close to the tank of Mandasa. These are finds in addition to the Buddhist stūpa at Sāli-huṇḍam discovered in 1919. Moreover there are some Kaidumba records of the 7th and 8th centuries; and one record of an early Eastern Chalukya king Indravarman commonly called Indra Bha-ṭṭāraka which proves that this king who ruled only for a few days did ascend the throne.

The Sanskrit inscription engraved in very archaic Telugu characters of about the 5th century A. D. discovered at the Poḍāgaḍa Hill in the Jeypore Agency of the Vizagapatam District is important. It belongs to the so-called dynasty of the Nalas who were among the early opponents of the expansion of the dominions of the early Western Chalukyas. It is surmised that this Nala dynasty is different from the Nalas of the Konkan destroyed by the Chalukyas, for whom indeed we have had no direct evidence. These Nalas were in the Kaliṅga country and lost their dominion through the expansion of the Chalukyas. The present inscription records the foundation of a *satra* (feeding-house) by the son of king Bhavadatta of the Nala family in the 12th year of his reign. The name of the son could not be made out definitely. This record and another of the 11th century referring possibly to a chief of the Gajapati line, found also in the Jeypore Agency, show that the Circars Agency tracts were not the deserted and backward regions as they are now—a conclusion which is strengthened by the numerous architectural remains of the wild Bastar State on the North.

Two records of the Cholas, both of Rājarāja the Great (985-1013 A. D.) give us instances of the royal audit of temple accounts; and one of them notes how the Brāhmaṇas who misappropriated the temple lands were punished. Two other inscriptions (Nos. 240 and 241 of Appendix C) of Rājarāja which come from Tenneri

record that the village assembly of Uttama Chola Caturvedīmaṅgalam met in the temple and laid down that only those who were capable of reciting the *Mantra-brāhmaṇa* could be elected as members of the village supervision committee (*Ūr-vāriyam*). A record of Rājakeśavivarman, *alias* Udaiyār Rājādhirājadeva (No. 239 of Appendix C.) says that the *adhikārin* (superintendent) convened a general meeting of the great assembly of Uttama Chola Caturvedīmaṅgalam in the hall called *Rājarājan* and after giving a patient hearing to the representation made by the village assembly that the original survey and classification of village lands was in a chaotic condition, "re-classified these lots, re-assessed them properly and instructed the assembly to have this order engraved on the walls of the temple".

Yet another inscriptional find of the year belonging to the 48th year, of Kulottuṅga I (the Chola-E-Chalukya Emperor (1070-1118) informs us that of one of his army captains presented some women of his family as *Devaradiyār* for service in the temple after branding them with the trident-mark as an indication of their dedication to a life of service and devotion. This shows that this class had not degenerated into the immoral level that it represents in society now. We have also an inscriptional reference to *Periya-koil-Nambi Tiruvarambattamudanar*, a pupil and convert of the great Vaiṣṇava teacher Rāmānuja in an inscription of Kulottuṅga Chola III of A. D. 1180. The very popular work of this convert is a poem of one hundred stanzas called *Rāmānuja-Nūrrandādi* expressive of the gratitude which he felt for his *guru* and which has now become so famous that it is called the *Prapannasāvitri* of the Vaiṣṇavas.

Kopperunjiṅgadeva, a Chola feudatory of the 13th century, figures in this year's finds both as a Chola subordinate and later an independant sovereign who issued grants in his own name. An inscription of his is found in the Kurnool District; and we know of his northern advance as far as Draksharam (in the Godavari District). He was one of the chief factors that contributed to the decline of the Chola power in the 13th century; and he claimed to have won supremacy over the Chola, Karnata and Pandya kings. He was also called *Khaḍgamalla* and *Kalbalapperuṇal* skilful with sword and his other *birudas* *Bharatamalla* and *Sāhityaratnākara*, connote, if they are not mere poetic fancy, his culture and refinement. It has also been suggested that there might have been two *Kopperunjiṅgas*, father and son; for "from the 8th year of the reigning Kulottuṅga



Chola III (A. D. 1185) wherein *Avaniālappiranḍān Kūḍavarayan* figures to be an independent Kopperunjiṅga whose highest regnal year as hitherto discovered is 35, corresponding to A. D. 1277 or the calculation that he ascended the throne in A. D. 1243. there is an interval of over 90 years which is an impossibly long reign for a single sovereign." The inscriptions which appear in the name of Kopperunjiṅgadeva have therefore to be interpreted with great caution.

Among the records of the Vijayanagara rulers discovered, one belonging to Virūpākṣa I (Śaka 1301 to 1322 according to the genealogy furnished in p. 72. of the Epigraphist's Report for the Southern Circle, 1906-7) is very useful as it mentions the several taxes and duties realised from a village now made over to a temple, among which are included dues paid to the village watchman, contribution to the military captain, taxes on garden-lands, oil-mills, pay of the royal order-carrier and a number of other payments not familiar to us. Inscription No. 335 of 1921 dated Saka 1337 details also the several sources of revenue in the village, *Kadamai* and *Kudimai*. A record of Sriranga II of Vijayanagara (the Araviḍu Dynasty) registers the undertaking given by the people of the *Nādu* to the official committee of management (*rājakārya bhāṇ-dāra*) that they would allow certain privileges to the three classes of artisans, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and carpenters, in accordance with the practice obtaining in the neighbouring regions.

The report contains a good note on Śrīperumbudin, the birth place of Rāmānuja which has become epigraphically important only from the 13th century, as well as a good essay on the typical South Indian temple which served as a powerful centre of social and economic life.

In the annual report on South Indian Epigraphy for the year ending March, 1923 is a note as to how the sculptures on the walls of the Tiruvāttur temple near Arcot, give us a picture of the intense cruelty of the mediæval Śaivites and of the grim side of their religious fanaticism, especially in the matter of Jain persecution. Inscription No. 666 of 1922 found on the entrance to the Varāha cave at Māmallapuram (Seven Pagodas) is dated in the 65th year of Nandipotavarman of the Pallava family. There has also been unearthed a copper plate record of the 61st year of Ko-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman and it is surmised on the basis of the high regnal years in the above records, that Nandipotavarman and Vijaya Nandivikramavarman must be identical with the Ko-Vijaya Nandivikramavarman

III) of the Tandantottam plates and the Tiruvallam rock inscription. The date given in the Māmallapuram (Mahābalipuram) record is the highest known till now; and the Tamil alphabet of the second record closely resembles that of the Tandantottam plates.

We have records to prove that more than one Pāṇḍya kings ruled together at a time. In the age of these Pāṇḍya and Chola kings (10th to 13th centuries) a large number of *mathas* grew in wealth and popularity; and it became a common feature to attach *mathas* to temples. In numerous cases these *mathas* held control over the affairs of the temples. They were generally very hospitable to pilgrims and maintained teachers for the expounding of the Vedas and the Śāstras and for reciting the Purāṇas. These *mathas* provided lodging and boarding to devotees and were "important centres of educational activity and moral and spiritual instruction". (See inscriptions No. 546 of 1922, No 357 of 1916, No 667 of 1916 and No 671 of 1916).

The following will prove to be of some interest to South Indian numismatists. The inscriptions discovered in the year referring to 10 rulers of the Kongu country give us the relative values of *varāhan*, *paṇam*, *acchu* and *kalanju*. For burning one twilight lamp we find ten *varāhan* being provided for in seven of the inscriptions and  $10\frac{1}{2}$  *paṇam* in one. There are also nearly ten records which provide one *kalanju* and a quarter for one twilight lamp; while an inscription (No. 581 of 1922) provides  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *acchu* for two lamps. Thus taking the amount deposited for one twilight lamp to be more or less constant, "we may tentatively suppose that *kalanju* and *acchu* were almost equal in value and about eight times that of *varāhan-paṇam*".

We come across a poetess of the later Vijayanagara days one of whose verses commemorating the royal gift of *Svarṇa-meru* is inscribed in the Viṭhalasvāmī Temple at Hampi. It is conjectured that this poetess, by name Koduva Tirumalamba is perhaps identical with Tirumalamba, the author of a *Kāvya* (*Varadāmbikā-pariṇayam*) which describes the marriage of Varadāmbā with king Acyuta Rāya or with Mohanāṅgi the daughter of the great Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and the wife of the powerful Rāmarāja. This Koduva Tirumalamba is the second lady of the Vijayanagara ruling families gifted with poetic talents, the first being Gaṅgādevī the wife of Kamparāya II (Kumārakampa) who wrote the *Vīrakamparāya-caritām*.

An inscription of Acyutarāya of this year, dated Saka 1454, records the installation of the image of the god Yoga-Varada-Nṛsiṃhasvāmin in the courtyard of the Viṭhalasvāmī temple by the



great Mādhva teacher Vyāsātīrtha, the author of several works on Dvaita philosophy ; e. g. *Tātparyacandrikā* ; *Nyāyāmṛta* and *Tarkatūṇḍava*. The fact that the teacher was highly honoured by the Vijayanagara ruler Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya is borne out in the introduction to Vol. VIII of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* ; and a paper was read at the recent Oriental conference held at Madras that Vyāsātīrtha, the disciple and Śrīpāda Rāja his preceptor, were so highly honoured that they were even allowed a brief occupation of the throne itself. From a 16th century work we are told that "at a meeting held at the court of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya and presided over by Vyāsayati (Vyāsātīrtha), a mendicant of the Mādhva sect. Vallabhācārya defeated the opponents of the Vaiṣṇava religion." The *saṁādhi* of this teacher is shown in an island in the Tuṅgabhadra river about half a mile to the east of Anegondi.

The report closes with a summary of the epigraphical references to the construction and maintenance of village tanks and channels and of the Jain vestiges discovered in Conjeeveram and its neighbourhood.

C. J. SRINIVASACHARI

## Recent Discoveries in Sind and the Punjab

The archæological discoveries recently made at Mohen-jo-Daro in Sind by Mr. Rakhal Das Banerji, and at Harappa by Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni form an epoch-making event in Indology which has been compared, in its far-reaching importance in extending our knowledge of the history of human culture, with the discovery of the pre-Hellenic culture of Greece by Schliemann at Tiryns and Mycenae, and of the remains of Central Asian civilisation by Stein in the desert of Turkestan. Absence of ancient remains had hitherto made Indian archæology come to an abrupt stop in the 3rd century B.C., which had long remained the upper limit of the historical period of Indian antiquity as illustrated by contemporary objects and documents. Pre-historic antiquities

of the usual type, illustrating the Stone, Copper, and Bronze Ages, were not wanting; but the gap between the rude culture of the pre-historic burial sites and the highly advanced civilization of the Mauryan age was a very serious one. Before 300 B. C. the sole authority, and often a very unsatisfactory authority for the story of civilization in India was the various strata of Indian literature the *Vedas*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Upaniṣads*, Buddhist literature in Pāli, and in Gāthā and other dialects, and traditions in Jaina literature. All the fundamental questions of the origin and early history of Indian culture are shrouded in the darkness of an impenetrable mystery, which has left wide scope for guess-work and imagination of all sorts. The discoveries in Sindh and South Punjab, which have disclosed the relics of a high culture in its successive phases from the sub-neolithic dawn to what comparatively is the full light of the day in the 2nd century A. D. have directly increased our vision from centuries to millennia. We have received materials, specially from Mohen-jo-Daro,—remains of buildings and temples, pottery and terracotta, beads and glass-ware, crude porcelain, bronze and iron articles, and what is more, inscribed seals and copper coins and tokens—which solidly demonstrate the existence of a high culture of ancient India, comparable in antiquity and extent with those of Anon and Susa, of Babylon and Crete. There has been the greatest interest among scholars both in India and in Europe in these finds even within the short time that they have been made known. The discoveries were at first announced in small communications to the Indian press in 1923 and 1924, but the public and the scholastic world could not be sufficiently impressed by its importance. In September, 1924, Sir John Marshall, Director of Archaeology in India, formally announced to the scientific world the discoveries, with a well-illustrated note on their importance, in a paper to the *Illustrated London News* (September 20, 1924). There he compared these discoveries with those of Schliemann and Stein. This announcement attracted attention from the proper quarters. Prof. A. H. Sayce wrote to the *Illustrated London News* of Sept. 27, 1924, pointing out striking resemblances between some of Mohen-jo-Daro finds and those of Susa, which he thought indicated a very ancient contact between Indian and Susian cultures; and Messrs C. J. Gadd and Sydney Smith in the *Illustrated London News* of October 4, 1924, demonstrated, by placing pictures of Indian and Babylonian objects side by side, how even more striking were the resemblances of



the Indian objects to the Sumerian ones, and how the characters on the seals, together with the device of the bull which they mostly bear, resembled in a remarkable manner the Babylonian linear characters of 3000-2400 B. C. and the figures of bulls in the Sumerian cylinder seals.\*

These papers drew the attention of scholars and the general public in India, and the Mohen-jo-Daro finds now form the most important topic in Indology. The Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa culture, from the burial customs found there, would, according to Mr. R. D. Banerji and others, seem to be non-Aryan, and the older strata of this culture are, according to the same opinion, pre-Aryan. The presence of the Brahuis in Baluchistan lends very considerable support to the view that the people who built up this culture were primitive Dravidians. Mr. Banerji himself is inclined to connect the Mohen-jo-Daro and Harappa culture with that of Crete rather than with that of Babylon. The position in this connection as well as the Cretan argument has been outlined by me in a paper in the December number of the *Modern Review* of Calcutta. There I have suggested an equation *Tamil-Damil-Dramila-Dravida* and *Termilai-Trmmili* (the national name of the ancient Lycians of Asia Minor who were a people migrating from Crete whence they brought this name which he thinks may be supported from philological and other considerations. Possibly, this equation according to him offers a clue to the origin of the Dravidians, which might be Cretan.

We are waiting for further finds before a definite conclusion can be reached. All discussion of this question is now at the incipient stage. We are glad to hear that the excavations have been taken up seriously at Mohen-jo-Daro, and we are particularly pleased to learn that Sir John Marshall himself is directing the excavations, and Mr. R. D. Banerji, who was for sometime on leave owing to ill-health after his first excavations and was then placed in charge of the Eastern Circle has again gone to Sind to help in the excavations he had inaugurated. We are reading in the papers about further important finds at Mohen-jo-Daro and some other sites in the neighbourhood obtained by Mr. K. N. Dikshit, Superintendent of Archæology in the Western Circle. The

\* One of these seals has been reproduced on the cover of this Quarterly as its device with the kind permission of the Director General of Archæology—Ed.

number of inscribed seals so far discovered, we gather, has come up to several hundreds, showing a large variety of characters which are tantalizing us with their mystery. These characters have a unique resemblance to those of Babylon as Messrs. Gadd and Sydney Smith have shown. Their resemblance to the Cretan hieroglyphics and to the Cretan linear script is no less striking. It seems the whole problem is enclosed in these little inscriptions. Before they are read, nothing can be known. We are eagerly waiting for a Prinsep or possibly for another Champollion or Rawlinson to clear up their mystery and thus to bring in the light that does not exist now. Competent scholars, we may be sure, have already taken the matter in hand, or will take it in hand when sufficient material is published and placed at the disposal of scholars in Europe and America.

The next few months, or the next few years perhaps, it may be confidently said, have thus in store for us the unravelling of one of the most intricate problems in the history of India and in the history of human culture in general.

S. K. CHATTERJEE

## The All-India Oriental Conference

### ( THIRD SESSION )

There can no doubt that the Third Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, held last December in Madras, is one of the most important, if somewhat unassuming, gatherings in these days of conferences and congresses. To an outsider, the conference may appear as intended only for "antiquated fossils" and "dry-as-dust bookworms" who, like Browning's Grammarian, apparently waste their lives on things of no practical utility ; but to one who is interested in things other than what is merely "practical" and narrowly utilitarian, it would be surely too late in the day to emphasise the importance of such an all-India conference of orientalists, now that the old Oriental Congress has been discontinued in Europe since the war. As a delegate of an humble Provincial university, the present writer greatly appreciated the opportunity that was thus given of meeting distinguished fellow-workers in



the field of oriental studies ; for such a meeting not only furnishes the much needed contact of mind with mind and enlarges one's outlook, but is often an inspiration to meet scholars hitherto known only by name or from their books.

No one can speak of the Third Session of the Conference without referring at the outset to the deep feeling of sorrow and the sense of irreparable loss to scholarship felt by all at the untimely death of Sir Asutosh Mookerjee, to whose interest and effort the Conference itself owes so much for its existence and who was to have presided over its deliberations in this very session. A fitting tribute was paid to that great man's memory by H. E. the Governor of Madras who opened the Conference. One could not but notice with regret, however, the absence of any representative from the University of Calcutta, now that Sir Ashutosh is not there to direct its policy.

The Conference sat for three days. It was in the fitness of things, as the Chairman of the Reception Committee pointed out, that one of the early meetings of the Conference should be held in Madras which, apart from Western influences, is one of the great centres of Dravidian culture in the history of Indian civilisation. Dr. Ganganath Jha, who worthily filled the chair occupied on the two former occasions by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar and Prof. Sylvain Lévi, declared with a modesty befitting that great scholar, that he had no pretensions of delivering a magnificent oration ; but one cannot but admire his wisdom in refraining from a purely academic speech and giving his audience the results of his mature and earnest thinkings on some problems of great practical importance, connected with oriental studies, to which attention could not be more forcibly drawn.

In his Presidential speech he rightly laments the lack of a central organisation for oriental research, and want of public sympathy for it. The ample earnest already given by the Bhandarkar Research Institute at Poona of the work that we may expect from such an organisation fully justifies all that Dr. Jha says on the subject ; and one need only add to this the splendid work done in Bengal by the Varendra Research Society, accidentally overlooked by him. But both these institutions are not sufficiently endowed, and are not centrally situated enough for the proverbially impecunious scholar to take full advantage of them. He suggests that the Universities, of which we have now nearly fifteen in India, should take this question up seriously, as is done in its own way by the Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University. There are indeed great difficulties in the way, but they are not insurmountable. Referring to the question of funds, the President remarks that it need

not discourage any University in this laudable enterprise, for "we do not want any expensive apparatus; We only want brains, a quiet place to work in, and a few books and manuscripts within our reach—all of which means comparatively little cost but "it does mean organisation.". The most serious handicap, however, is the want of public sympathy in the matter. The Post-graduate Department of the Calcutta University, which is cited by the President in support of his proposal, has not so far received that amount of public support and sympathy which is its due; and this institution would have been killed by now but for the resourceful personality of Sir Asutosh.

The President then made some sound and practical suggestions on the question of the acquisition, preservation, and restoration as well as of utilisation and publication of manuscripts, with which any one who has thought over the subject will entirely agree. He reminded his audience that "this country is subject to such ravages of fire and water that each year we are losing in the shape of manuscripts burnt or washed or crumbled away an amount of treasure which could not be replaced in the future even at the expenditure of millions of rupees; and the callousness which the public displays towards this would be appalling anywhere else except in this unfortunate country". There has been enough search of manuscripts and cataloguing of them, but the question of acquiring them either by purchase or transcripts has not received as much attention in this country as it deserves. Excellent work has been done in this direction by the Asiatic Society of Bengal and lately by the Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library; but many scholars have learnt with regret the proposal of discontinuing the Government grant to the latter institution. Even a small University like the one to which the present writer has the privilege of belonging has thought it fit to make a grant for starting a collection of manuscripts and has invited public support in this direction.

The President also makes a very wise suggestion of starting under the auspices of the Conference "a Book-bulletin" or register (with a note of prices and publishers) of all oriental publications made from year to year. In his own words, "At present we do not know what works have been printed; much less do we know what works are in the course of publication; and we are seriously handicapped by this want of information". The President has not also forgotten to refer to the importance of vernacular research, and has done well in combating the opinion of some people that these researches are on a lower level, requiring inferior attainments and weaker equipment.



He refers in this connexion to the excellent work done by the Nāgari Pracārīnī Sabhā and by the numerous organisations in South India ; but he might have also referred to the work of the Calcutta University and of the Baṅgiya Sāhitya Pariṣat, both of which institutions, besides encouraging a scientific study of the vernaculars, also possess excellent collections of Bengali manuscripts.

One very important and eloquent feature of the President's address was the appeal made by him for a proper recognition of the indigenous Paṇḍits and Maulavis as occupying an important place in the scheme of oriental study. As early as 1883 Peterson acknowledged obligations to "the accuracy, learning, and energy, so ruthlessly deprecated" of the indigenous scholar ; and what he said more than forty years ago may be repeated even today. The evils of "title-examination," a cheap pass-port to recognition, have already laid the axe at the root of traditional oriental scholarship and its method of specialisation ; but even today scholars of the old type, who may be regarded as the variable store-house of traditional learning, have not altogether disappeared from this country. It is possible that people still realize the value of such scholars ; but they do not realize the danger of their best qualities disappearing under the so-called reforms through which they are now forced. The President, combining in himself, as he does, the virtues of the traditional and the modern methods of scholarship, made a vigorous appeal "not to try to modernise the Paṇḍit and the Maulavi." "If you try to modernise him" he warns "he will disappear. He does not possess perhaps the wide outlook of the modern scholar ; but he more than makes up for that by his depth of learning. His outlook you cannot enlarge, at least, to the extent of benefiting him. Why then make an attempt to deprive him of his distinguishing characteristics,—characteristics by which alone he has in the past commanded respect and whereby he can command respect in the future ?"

We have tried to give in some detail some of the important questions dealt with by the President in his address, because we think that those questions deserve careful consideration by all interested in oriental study. Some of those questions (e.g. the question relating to manuscripts) have, no doubt, been emphasised more than once before, but very few will doubt that they would bear authoritative repetition, over and over again, until more organised attempt is made to solve them.

The second day of the Conference and a part of the third day were taken up with the reading of the papers contributed. In this connexion we have a few remarks to make, which, we hope, will not be misunderstood by our friends in Madras who accorded to us such a cordial

welcome and whose courtesy and kindness we all appreciated. The arrangement for the reading and discussion of these papers was not all that could be desired. The number of papers was more than 150. A volume containing summaries of these papers was indeed distributed among the members on the first day of the Conference ; but the total bulk of the contribution was enormous, and the summaries (which should have been circulated, if at all, much earlier) could never be adequate for a proper discussion of the problems raised in some of them. It must not be forgotten that while a paper can be printed and published\* one of the most important features of such conferences should be the discussion, formal or informal, the interchange of thought, the comparison of experiences. Opportunities for such discussion were hardly allowed in the Literary Section at least by an indiscriminate reading of all the papers within the time-limit of ten minutes to each paper. One can understand that to discriminate between important and unimportant papers (from the point of view of scholarship as well as of general or technical interest) presented difficulties ; but these difficulties were not solved by allotting the papers to three or four sections and allowing all papers to be read indiscriminately without any particular order or principle within a fixed time-limit. We understand that this time-limit and this arrangement were not followed in some sections, but in the Literary Section it led to a great deal of confusion and loss of interest. The hall in which this particular section was held was unfortunately too big to make the papers that were read audible even to the listeners on the third row of seats ; and one need not express any surprise that there was no discussion on any paper in this section, nor could one blame those contributors who wisely refrained from reading their papers under such conditions. One, however, must not lose sight of the fact that the number of the papers was somewhat unmanageable : it is, however, an index of the great interest taken in the Conference, which has tempted scholars from all parts of India to make its deliberations imposing and worthy of its name by varied and weighty contributions.

Indeed, one must admit that there was no lack of intellectual ministrations in the conference ; there was also no dearth of recreation and amusement for the diversion of the scholars after their scholarly labours. Much credit is due to the organisers of the Conference for the various entertainments and social functions that were arranged for the

\* We understand that the papers will be published by the Conference.



delegates and visitors. Of these, the *vāda* held in the Sanskrit Pāṭhaśālā, the clever enactment of the *Mṛcchakatika* by the students of the Madras Presidency College, the interesting lantern lecture on Indian Architecture, the musical afternoon devoted to a fine display of skill in South Indian music—not to speak of the “parties” given to the delegates—have been greatly appreciated.

The success of the Third Session of the Conference as well as the experience gathered in the previous sessions has amply justified the hope of all its well-wishers that the Conference has now come to stay. The number of papers contributed, the importance of the subjects dealt with, as well as the fairly large attendance of delegates from all parts of India—all go to strengthen this hope. We learn also from the Secretary that the appeal for support made by its organisers to the provincial governments, the Universities and the learned institutions has been readily responded to by generous contributions. It is also noteworthy that no less than four invitations reached the Conference to hold its next meeting at Allahabad, Benares, Lahore, and Baroda respectively; and although it decided to honour its present President by accepting the invitation of Allahabad, where the Conference will hold its Fourth Session in 1926, I was glad that so much interest has been taken in its activities all over India. It seems that the problem of funds need not worry us, nor need the problem of active support by scholars and interested institutions. The time has, therefore, come to consider seriously the question of putting the Conference on a stable and permanent basis. We are glad to find that the meeting of the delegates has appointed an all-India Committee to consider the question of a permanent constitution of the conference, as well as the advisability of having an organ of the Conference itself consisting of an all-India journal on oriental studies. Let us hope that the discontinuance of the Oriental Congress of Europe and the starting of an Oriental Conference in India will also materially help to bring back for all future time the scientific study of oriental subjects from Europe to India, which should, in the fitness of things, be the most important centre of such studies, as it was in the days of yore.

S. K. DE

## The Date of Mānik Gāṅgulī's Dharma Maṅgal

Mānik Rām Gāṅgulī is one of the writers on the legends of Dharma (Dharma-maṅgala) in Bengal. According to Dr. Dines Chandra Sen, his book was written in 1547 A. D. (History of Bengali Language and Literature, p. 371). I do not know how he got this date. The author himself gives the date of composition as follows :

শাকেরি ঙ সঙ্কে বেদ সমুদ্র দক্ষিণে ।

সিদ্ধ সহ যুগ দক্ষিণে যোগ তার সনে ॥

The first line as it stands is meaningless. Its correct reading must be :

শাকে ঋতু সঙ্কে বেদ সমুদ্র দক্ষিণে ।

So the first line will give 647 and the second line 844 (I take সিদ্ধ to mean 84, as there are 84 *siddhas*). The total of these i.e. 1491 Śaka era is the date of the composition of the book. This will give 1569 A. D.

MUHAMMAD SHAHIDULLAH

## Oriental Studies in Japan

Information as to the provision that has been made in the various Universities of Japan for the study of Buddhism, Hindu philosophy, Sanskrit, Pāli, Tibetan, etc., may be interesting to Indian scholars. In the Tokyo Imperial University, Dr. J. Takakusu teaches Sanskrit while Drs. M. Anesaki, T. Kimura, and Nagayee are in charge of Indian religions, Hindu philosophy, and Pāli respectively. In the Imperial University at Kyoto, the old capital of Japan, Prof. R. Sakaki teaches Sanskrit and Pāli, Dr. B. Machumata Hindu philosophy and religion, while U. Theramata Tibetan. In the Otani University the veteran scholar Dr. Nanjio the author of the *Catalogue of the Chinese Tripitaka* was for sometime the Professor of Sanskrit studies. After his retirement his pupil H. Izumi took his place while Prof. C. Akanana conducts studies in Pāli and Buddhism. The well-known author of the 'Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism' Prof. T. Suzuki belongs also to the staff of this University.



Prof. G. Harda is in charge of Sanskrit and Hindu philosophy in the Rykoko University. Indian Buddhism and History are taught there by Prof. R. Hadani. There is also provision for the teaching of these subjects in the Singan-su and Maysingi Universities. In the Sukeo University, Dr. U. Ogihara teaches Sanskrit and Pāli, and Dr. K. Watanabe Hindu philosophy and religion. Prof. Yamakami Sogen, sometime Reader of the Calcutta University and author of the *Systems of Buddhistic Thought*, is a lecturer in Sanskrit in the So-da University and Dr. S. Taschibana is the teacher of Pāli there. Further enumeration of names may be tiresome ; suffice it to say, that arrangements for the teaching of the subjects mentioned above exist in the Universities of Toyo, Buzan, Washeda, Ke-o, and Sen-dai. Dr. H. Ui the well-known translator of the *Daśapadārtha* is the teacher of Sanskrit and the Indian philosophy in the University named last. Universities have been recently established in Korea and Pa-ko-oka. Provisions for the study of Indian subjects have also been made in these Universities.

R. KIMURA

## REVIEWS

THE SANSKRIT DRAMA IN ITS ORIGIN, DEVELOPMENT, THEORY, AND PRACTICE. By A. Berriedale Keith, D. C. L., D. Litt. 405. pp. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1924.

Professor Keith's work is an excellent presentation of the origin and development of Sanskrit Drama within the limits set by the author for himself. It collects all materials, new and old, bearing on the subject, and sifts them with great ability, retaining what is important and rejecting what is valueless. It re-arranges the available data and re-thinks the entire subject. There is no doubt that it thus stands out as the safest guide on the subject. It is written in a lucid style which would make it acceptable to the layman and the scholar alike.

The first part of the work dealing with the question of origin has been written with great circumspection. The theme is highly controversial, and though one may not see eye to eye with Dr. Keith in all he says regarding the origin of the Sanskrit Drama, his searching examination of all earlier theories (especially those of Schroeder, Hertel, Hillebrandt, and Ridgeway) is very illuminating.

Another interesting feature of the book is the consideration of the style and technique of the individual dramatists, left out by Lévi in his works but one wishes that the author had more space to devote to it, as it certainly has a wider literary appeal.

There are a few points to which the author's attention may be drawn :

The derivation of modern Bhāṭ from the term Bhārata (though it has the sanction of Lévi) is extremely far-fetched. The Bhāṭs, especially in Bengal, *are not all reciters*. The more obvious derivation would be that it is a Prākṛt form of Bhaṭṭa.

One finds it hard to agree with Dr. Keith in his remark that the *Mṛcchakatika* is in no sense a transcript from life, but an elaborate literary drama based on the Bhāsa-prototype. It may be that the attempt of those who find in it an *actual* reflection of contemporary political events is misdirected, but it would be absurd to deny reality to the dramatic fulness of life which the work displays by presuming it to be a mere literary copy of Bhāsa's *Cārudatta*.



I beg to point out the following slips and misprints in the book :—

p. 19 'Satyrize's' should be corrected ; p. 22, l. 29 Some word like 'of' before 'its existence' is wanted by the sense of the passage ; p. 35, f. n. 1, l. 1 Supply 'in' before 'Mbh'. ; p. 50, f. n. 2 is not marked in the text ; p. 52, f. n. 1 Should not TD be ID ? p. 212, sec. 4, l. 4 Read Kānyakubja ; The passage "tradition preserved in the Tagore family" is not clear ; p. 232, f. n. 3 Was the ed. of *Bāla-rāmāyaṇa* of 1884 published in Calcutta, or in Benares ? p. 262 This sentence is defective—"The court chaplin (chaplin ?) enters with his pupil, and are (?) attracted to the damsel".

ED.

ANCIENT MID-INDIAN KṢĀTRIYA TRIBES, vol. I. By Dr. B. C. Law, M. A., B. L., Ph. D. 166 pp. Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 12. THACKER, SPINK & CO. 1924.

Dr. Law has laid the students of ancient Indian History under deep obligations by his interesting studies on the Kṣatriya tribes of ancient India. The historians of ancient India generally regard the sixth century B.C. as the line of demarcation between historical and pre-historical period, but already signs are not wanting that the line is to be pushed back to a considerable degree. Mr. Pargiter was the first scholar to draw the attention of the learned world in this direction and among the small band of workers who has followed in his footsteps Dr. Law occupies a distinct position. In the volume under review he has collected together data from various sources about the Kurus, the Pañcālas, the Matsyas, the Śūrasenas, the Cedis, the Vatsas (whom the author regards as identical with the Vedic Vasas), the Avantis and the Uśīnaras. For this purpose he has laid under contribution both Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist literature and his references are fairly exhaustive. The author has also referred to the coins and inscriptions, but it is obvious that he did not intend to treat them fully. He should have been well advised to omit the later history of the Cedis and Pañcalās altogether, for they require more detailed treatment which is incompatible with his plan of the work.

A short paragraph on Kokalladeva and an equally brief treatment of the 'Metra' coins of Pañcāla are apt to mislead the reader. For real value of the book lies in its treatment of the literary data and

the author has done a great service by bringing them together. The time for writing a connected history of the ancient Kṣatriya tribes has not yet come but the groundwork has been well laid and we hope the main structure will be raised upon it at no distant date. We hope Dr. Law will continue his researches in the same direction and help to bridge over the gulf that at present separates the early period of Indian history from what we may call the beginnings of historical period.

R. C. MAJUMDER

STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF SANSKRIT POETICS, vol. II.  
By S. K. DE, M.A., D. Litt. 430 pp. Luzac & Co. 1925.

Dr. SUSHIL KUMAR DE has already become well-known in the field of research by the publication of the first volume of his 'History of Sanskrit Poetics'. The second volume maintains the standard of the first by its thoroughness of exposition of the subject. He has indeed done great service to the students of the history of Sanskrit literature by bringing out this volume.

In the first volume, he indicated the original sources of the *Alaṅkāra-śāstrā* and settled the chronology of most of the exponents of this branch of Sanskrit literature. In the present work he has traced the development of Sanskrit Poetics very critically, and given an account of the various systems and theories connected with the Sanskrit rhetorical doctrines. The book is divided into nine chapters, each of which is sub-divided into a number of sections. After giving an outline of Sanskrit poetics as it existed in the earliest known period of its history, the author has dealt with its different systems such as *alaṅkāra*, *riti*, *rasa* and *dhvani*, and has indicated when possible the way in which they have originated and developed, tracing at the same time the history of the formulation of the theories. Various schools of poetics have been distinguished and their influence upon one another has been determined. With a full mastery over the abstruse technique of the subject, Dr. De has been able to collect every detail relating to the topics like *vyāñjanā*, *lakṣaṇā*, *vṛtti*, *sphota*, etc. and to explain very clearly the terms belonging to dramaturgy and poetics proper. The last chapter is devoted to the writers of *kāvī-sikṣās* or manuals for the guidance of those who wish to compose poems or dramas. The book will be very welcome to the students of Sanskrit literature not only for its clear exposition of the difficult subject but also for the laborious



way in which he has drawn materials from a large number of published works and manuscripts for the treatment of the theme.

D. M. BHATTACHARYYA

**THE GLORIES OF MAGADHA.** By Prof. J. N. Samaddar, B. A., with a Foreword by Dr. A. B. Keith. 141 pp. Patna University.

The author has taken much pains in putting together in the book almost all the information at present available regarding the social, political and religious history of Magadha. The country of Magadha occupied from very early times an important position as an emporium of trade and as a centre of non-brāhmaṇic religions in India. In the first lecture, the author has given a running account of the great events that took place in Magadha up to the 12th century A. C. and constitute its glories. He has in his second lecture delineated the history of Rājagṛha and Pāṭaliputra, the two capitals of Magadha, and has discussed the claim of Vaiśālī to be counted as its capital. In the last two lectures, he has presented a picture of the two great Buddhist universities of Nālandā and Vikramaśīlā and has fully utilized the information furnished by Tārānāth, the Chinese travellers and the archæological discoveries. His third and fourth lectures, devoted to the study of Asokan edicts with an estimate of their social, political, and religious importance, contain discussions which though useful should have been given a place elsewhere. His analysis of the causes of the decline of Buddhism does not appear to be sound. However, monographs like this have a value of their own inasmuch as they enable the reader to have all the available information on a subject in a handy form. The typographical errors are too many and there should not have been so many omissions in the use of diacritical marks.

KACCĀYANA

**HISTORY OF KERALA**, vol. I, by K. P. Padmanabha Menon. 569 pp. Ernakulam, Cochin State.

The book under review was rightly intended, as appears from the author's will quoted in the editor's Foreword, to be published as notes on Visscher's Letters from Malabar. Rev. Jacobus Canter Visscher addressed these Letters to his friends at home during 1717-1723, in the form of memoirs, full of observations upon the manners and customs of the people, their laws, rites and ceremonies, the description of their kingdoms and other allied subjects. An annotated edition of these precious memoirs like the one in hand was

badly needed. None can claim to be more competent than the late Mr. Padmanabha Menon to fulfil this immensely useful task. His notes speak eloquently of his wide range of information and study and no less of his power to reduce the varied material into some sort of historical method and coherence. But the result obtained is substantially an annal or a gazetteer rather than a book of history. Even as such, it cannot fail to be attractive to a serious historian of India who can set to work only when publications of this kind have sufficiently helped him to clear up his ground. The notes, as they appear, abound in quotations, and this is to be regretted as the most disappointing feature of an important work. But there is no denying of the fact that these enable the reader to portray to himself various shifting scenes of historical events with a racial, socio-economic and political background which went to make the people of Kerala or Malabar what they became. The corrected bequest from the author stands as a lasting memorial to his fame as a compilation of all invaluable information from traditional and authentic sources.

B. M. BARUA



## Select Contents of Oriental Journals

### Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute, 1923-24

- J. J. MODI.—The social life of the ancient Iranians as preserved by the Avesta. (Description, under the first of three stated headings, of the principal parts of an Iranian house—the domesticated animals, furniture, metals).
- GOPI NATH KAVIRAJ.—The doctrine of *pratibhā* in Indian philosophy. (In continuation of the article in the preceding number, traces the plan of this doctrine in the Āgamas, the Vedānta, the Pūrva Mimāṃsā, Buddhism, Jainism, the Itihāsa, the Purāṇa and the prose literature and ends with a resumé and retrospect).
- S. K. BELVALKAR.—Māthara Vṛtti. (Defends, with an elaborate array of quotations against Prof. A. B. Keith's criticism, the writer's contention that the Māthara-Vṛtti was the original of Paramārtha's Chinese translation).
- R. DISKALKAR.—A new inscription of Aparāditya (V. S. 1176). An incomplete inscription in the Rajkot Museum.

### Bulletin of the French School of the Far East (Fr.), 1923

A. Foucher.—The Graeco-Buddhist art of Gandhāra, vol. II, fasc. 2, Paris 1922. Reviewed by V. Gouloubev. (A most valuable criticism throwing light upon the history of Indian art in the early centuries of the Christian era. *Principal contents.* Abandoning the chronological scheme of his first volume (1905), Foucher now seeks to trace back the epoch of efflorescence of the Gandhāra School to the first century B. C. so as to make it coincide with the Hellenistic (instead of the Graeco-Roman) epoch of Mediterranean art. This would reduce almost to a minimum the influence exercised by the Kuṣānas upon the Gandhāra School and the part played by the Mathurā School in the evolution of the earliest images of Buddha, while tending to establish the closest links with the "Hellenistic epoch of Indian history". The evidence, however, for such a radical transformation of the existing chronology is not sufficient. As to the important question relating to the date and place of creation of the earliest images of Buddha, it has to be observed that the Mathurā school which undoubtedly goes back to the times of early Kuṣānas does not show any trace of Hellenic influence, even by way of suggestion (as Foucher

supposes). One of the images of this school, the figure of Buddha-Bodhi-sattva at Kātrā, is probably the original of all the images of the Blessed One. In later times the artists of Mathurā borrowed some art elements from the Gandhāra school just as the latter borrowed from the former. The subsequent history of Indian art does not (as Foucher thinks) involve a mechanical copy of Indo-Greek models but is rather a conscious return to the deep-seated ancient ideals. (Summarised by Dr. U. N. Ghosal).

**Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, vol. III, part III**

SUSHIL KUMAR DE.—The Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā in Classical Sanskrit. In this paper Dr. De distinguishes some well-defined stages in the growth of the Ākhyāyikā and the Kathā in Classical Sanskrit.

L. D. BARNETT.—Abhāsa-Bhāsa. Dr. Barnett is of opinion that the anonymous Trivandrum plays are *not* by Bhāsa and that none of the plays are earlier than the period of Kālidāsa i. e., the early fifth century.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.—The Māthara Vṛtti. Professor Keith finds no evidence proving that the Chinese translation of Paramārtha was derived from the newly discovered commentary on the Sāṅkhyā-kārikā (Māthara-vṛtti) as suggested by Prof. S. K. Belvalkar. He concludes that the *Māthara-vṛtti*, Gauḍapāda's work, and the translation of Paramārtha all date back to an original commentary which is faithfully preserved in none of them.

**Indian Antiquary, January 1925**

A. S. RAMANATH AYYAR.—Cheramāṇ-Perumāl-Nāyanār. In this paper Cheramāṇ-Perumāl-Nāyanār, a Śaiva saint mentioned in the Tamil hagiology, has been identified with king Rājaśekhara of Talamāna-illam copper-plate, his date being ascribed to the first quarter of the ninth century A. D.

A. M. HOCART.—The Cousin in the Vedic Ritual. It has been suggested here that the word *bhrātṛvya* in the Vedic literature should be taken in the sense of *Mother's brother's son*.

ANANT SADASIY ALLEKAR.—Ancient Towns and Cities in Gujarat and Kathiawad.

**Ibid., March 1925**

RAI BAHADUR HIRA LAL.—Spurious Ghotia Plates of Prthivideva  
II. The inscription purports to record the grant of a village to one



Gopāla Śarmā. The Haihaya king Prṥhvideva II is mentioned as the donor. But in the opinion of the Rai Bahadur it is a forgery committed a hundred years after Prṥhvideva's time. The date of the grant has been put back by 300 years, a time anterior to the advent of the Haihayas in the place mentioned in the inscription.

**Journal Asiatique, July-Sept. 1924.**

J. PRZYLUSKI.—The Prologue-framework of the Thousand and One Nights and the theme of the Svayaṃvara; a contribution to the history of Indian tales (Fr.). (Complement, from the standpoint of folklore, of a series of studies published by the same author in the Memoirs and Bulletin of the Linguistic Society (Fr.), showing the Austro-Asiatic origin of a portion of the Indo-Aryan vocabulary).

A. FOUCHER.—The Buddhist Antiquities of Haibāk in Afghan Turkestan. (Traces the remains of a Buddhist foundation consisting of a *Stūpa* and a *Saṅghārāma*, the base comprising chapels, a dormitory, a chapter-hall serving also as a refectory, and town-halls).

MISCELLANIES.—J. Przyluski.—Brahmā Sahāmpati.

OBITUARY.—Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee by Sylvain Lévi.

**Journal of the American Oriental Society,**

vol. 44, No. 3, September, 1924

MAURICE BLOOMFIELD.—On False Ascetics and Nuns in Hindu Fiction.

E. WASHBURN HOPKINS.—Priestly Penance and Legal Penalty. The writer says that criminal law has developed from two entirely different sources, one that of the king with his *daṇḍa* and *dama* (corporal punishment and fine), the other of the priests, who made their own rules, and prescribed expiations for offences.

LEROY CARR BARRET.—The Kashmirian Atharvaveda, Bk. II.

**Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,**

vol. XIX, 1923, No. 10

K. P. CHATTOPADHYAY.—An Essay on the History of Newar Culture. It deals with the social organisation of the Newars.

**Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society,**

vol. X, Part III, 1924

- K. P. JAYASWAL.—Brāhmi Seals Newly Discovered at Patna. Six Seals of which four are of glass, one of stone, and another of clay, have been described. They probably belong to a time between the 3rd and the 2nd century B. C.
- RAI SAHIB MANORANJAN GHOSH.—The Use of Glass in Ancient India. Against the belief that glass was introduced in India by foreigners it has been proved that glass manufacture was well-known in ancient India from a very early time.
- K. P. JAYASWAL and A. BANERJI ŚĀSTRĪ.—Lassen's History of Indian Commerce (transl.)
- VINAYATOSA BHATTACHARYYA and G. K. SHRIGON DEKAR.—Sanskrit Works on Elephants. Interesting details about elephants collected from Pālakāpya's *Hastyāyurveda*, Kauṭilya's *Arthaśāstra*, and works like *Gajanjirūpaṇa*, *Mātāṅgalīlā*, and *Gajacikitsā*.
5. KALIPADA MITRA.—Nibbānam. Expositions of the term as found in various Pāli passages have been collected in this paper. The author does not favour any particular view saying that as Buddha left it *avyakta*, no attempt to lift the veil should be made.

**Journal of Indian History, September, 1925**

- JARL CHARPENTIER.—Supplementary notices on the discovery of the Vedas (in Europe).
- J. HOLLAND ROSE.—The influence of sea-power on Indian history of the period from the capture of Madras by the French to the Peace of Amiens, to show that sea-power exercised the decisive influence in the struggle for supremacy.
- R. B. RAMSBOTHAM.—The Kanungo. Some aspects of his office in Bengal during the early days of the Company. (Shows how the Kanungos succeeded in keeping as a hereditary corporation the monopoly of information about revenue matters as late as 1787).
- REV. H. HERAS.—The story of Akbar's Christian wife. (Proves the falsity of this story by reference to the contemporary authorities).
- RADHAKUMUD MOOKHERJĪ.—Indian Administration in the age of the Guptas (300-700 A. D.). A survey based purely upon inscriptions of the period.
- HARIHAR DAS.—The embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzib.



CORRESPONDENCE.—By S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar in defence of his 'Some contributions of South India to Indian culture' against Dr. Barnett's criticism.

**Journal of the Pali Text Society, 1920-23**

DR. T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.—"What has Buddhism derived from Christianity" written on 22. 2. 1877. The writer points out in this article that Buddhism and Christianity developed on entirely parallel lines though one was independent of the other, and suggests a few reasons for such resemblances. He classifies and details the resemblances between the two religions under the following three heads—(1) Those between the Gospels and the Buddhist accounts of the life of Gotama, (2) those between the Christian and the Buddhist monastic systems and public worship, and (3) those between the Christian and the Buddhist moral teachings.

**Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, January, 1925**

R. D. BANERJI.—Nahāpana and the Saka era. By comparing the Junagaḍh inscription of Rudradāman with the Nāsik inscriptions of the time of Nahāpana the writer has shown that Nahāpana and Rudradāman could not have lived in the same century.

SIDDDESHWAR VARMA SĀSTRĪ—Analysis of 'Meaning' in Indian Philosophy of Language.

**Journal of the Department of Letters** (Calcutta University), Vol. XI.

M. LOUIS FINOT.—The Legend of Buddhaghoṣa.

KOKILESHWAR SHASTRI.—Place of Ethics and Religion in the Śāṅkara System.

STELLA KRAMRISCH.—The Viṣṇudharmottaram.

R. KIMURA.—An Historical Study of the Terms Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna and the Origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

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